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VOLUME LXII, NUMBER 13658

MONDAY, MAY 9, 1994 • IYAR 28, 5754 • THU AL-QADAH 29, 1414

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Newly arrived members of the Temporary International Presence in Hebron examine a map of the city yesterday. (Brian Hendler)

Palestinian Police delays its entry

EIGHT unarmed Palestinian Police officers crossed into Gaza yesterday, but none crossed the Allenby Bridge, disappointing many who had waited both in Jericho and Rafiah for a triumphal procession of hundreds of members of the new force.

Israeli military sources denied responsibility for the delays and said the Palestinian side was responsible for not coordinating properly.

At the Rafiah border crossing, the arriving officers handed over hundreds of Kalashnikov assault rifles for Israeli inspection and registration of the serial numbers.

The delay in the policemen's arrival caused anger in both Jericho and the Gaza Strip.

Jericho residents had turned out in force for the occasion, but ended up "all dressed up with nowhere to go." Banners proclaiming "Last week South Africa, this week Jericho," and "Sweet Freedom" were seen. A scout band circled the main square several times, passed the police station, and then disbanded.

Youths started stoning the police station when they realized that IDF soldiers were not leaving and the Israeli flag was not coming down. Soldiers fired back with stun grenades.

JON IMMANUEL

Gaza sources reported that in Rafiah youths stoned soldiers when the delay became evident.

Sources in the government coordinator's office said there is no reason why hundreds of Palestinian police could not take up positions in Gaza and Jericho this week. Up to 30 military installations are ready to be manned, according to military sources.

The policemen camped on the other side of the borders include 300 members of the Palestine Liberation Army's Badr Brigade coming from Jordan, and 330 members of the Ein Jalout Brigade arriving from Egypt. The Badr Brigade arrived in a convoy of 10 trucks.

The delay, whatever the cause, increased doubts among Palestinians that PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat is ready to take over the areas now at his disposal. Recently he closed down the Jericho office of the PLO and there has been grumbling about his autocratic leadership.

Arafat said the establishment of the 24-member ruling autonomy council, whose members were to have been announced immediately following the signing of the Cairo agreement, would also be delayed.

He told a meeting of the PLO executive committee Saturday night that he needed another week to form the council, the Associated Press reported from Tunis, quoting Samir Ghosheh, a member of the committee.

"We want to know what are the exact responsibilities of the council and what are its terms of reference," he said.

Ghosheh denied press reports about the existence of a list of candidates for the authority.

Saeed Erakat, a former deputy chief negotiator in Washington and a resident of Jericho, denied reports that he was unwilling to sit on the council, saying he had not been offered a position.

Reports also said Faisal Husseini, Hanan Ashrawi, and other former members of the negotiating team had turned down jobs. "I don't think these reports are accurate," Erakat said.

Nevertheless, the Cairo agreement is being criticized as giving the Palestinians less than they could have achieved.

"This is worse than the Camp David agreement and Arafat called [Egyptian President Anwar] Sadat a traitor when he accepted it," said teacher Yusuf Kutani in Jericho yesterday.

Even the arrangement to rent the Hisham Palace Hotel in Jericho for government office space has fallen through. After reviewing the contract the PLO offered, the hotel owners said "no deal," part-owner Taher Abdo said.

Hebron observers get hot welcome

MEMBERS of the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH) moved into town yesterday and before the welcoming ceremony was over got their first taste of Israeli-Palestinian confrontation - and a whiff of tear gas.

Easily distinguishable by their all-white garb in a town whose predominant dress colors are olive green, brown, and black, they looked more like doctors or ice cream vendors than peace enforcers. Their job, officially, is to monitor the situation, reporting to a liaison committee of two Palestinians and two Israelis.

Odd Wibe, the Norwegian coordinator of the team, diagnosing the incident outside Hebron City Hall, said border policemen who drove towards the crowd of more than 1,000 well-wishers were at fault.

"We had an agreement that the army would keep away. It did not and this provoked children to throw stones. If they hadn't turned up it wouldn't have happened," he said.

They were welcomed by one of the Palestinian members of the liaison committee, Mayor Mustafa Natshe.

The 160-member team - drawn from Norway, Denmark and Italy - has 60 on patrol in a fleet of minibuses, prominently displaying in red the initials TIPH on their hoods.

TIPH, a compromise agreed on by Israel and the PLO after the massacre of 29 Palestinians in Hebron, has come under scathing criticism from Palestinians for being unarmed. Children taunted them. "We don't want you here. You can't do anything when an Israeli soldier shoots a child," said 15-year-old Mubasher Mohaseb.

Piero Baldezani, a member of the carabinieri, the Italian national police, from the northern town of Imperia, denied the force would be ineffective. He had volunteered for the assignment after serving in similar missions in Lebanon, Somalia, and Cambodia.

He has no intention of standing aside in violent confrontations, he said, but "being without weapons is better. In Cambodia I prevented soldiers from attacking the offices of the opposition party. I put my body in the line of fire and they backed down."

Whatever the deficiencies of TIPH, it is already serving as a lightning rod for Palestinian anger against soldiers and settlers.

Samih Dana complained that Israeli children from Kiryat Arba had been pelting the windows of his neighboring house with stones and wanted someone from the TIPH to take a look.

His back windows showed six broken panes, with glass shards on the floor next to two egg-sized rocks. He said some were broken that morning, others earlier.

"This happens all the time," he said. "The army comes and says it's not our problem."

Dana chased after two children who were standing near his house. They ran off. "Why are you throwing stones?" Dana demanded in Hebrew.

"We won't speak to you, you're an Arab," they said, from behind the fence.

"I'm a policeman," Dana lied. "Then why aren't you in uniform?" they asked. "I'm undercover," said Dana.

Chastened, they said, "We didn't throw stones. We saw a Jewish car so we wondered why it was there. Are you shabak?" they asked.

A TIPH observer said he would investigate.

Vilnay: No precise timetable in accord

THERE is no precise timetable for implementing any of the next stages of the Cairo agreement, including the deployment of Palestinian police and the transfer of police and civilian powers, OC Southern Command Maj.-Gen. Matan Vilnay said at a press conference yesterday.

The security component of the agreement, he added, is very complex. "The difficult phase is only beginning," Vilnay said.

Vilnay and Planning Branch Head Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan presented the maps and details relating to security arrangements and IDF-PLO coordination scheduled to go into effect pending the IDF redeployment, especially in the Gaza Strip.

Both generals seemed assured in their presentations, but somewhat reserved and cautious when asked to elaborate. Observers could only conclude that if there are 40 shades of green in Ireland, (Continued on Page 2)

ALON PINKAS

Furor over ads in Histadrut campaign

LABOR'S leadership is pressuring those running the party's Histadrut campaign to cease attacking Shas MK Aryeh Deri in the party's campaign ads, which yesterday began linking MK Haim Ramon to Deri's alleged shady financial dealings.

Shas reacted furiously to the ads and MK Shlomo Benizri said that Shas would not return to the Labor-led coalition unless Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin or Labor's official leadership apologize publicly.

Rabin himself reportedly called the ads "disgusting." But Labor sources yesterday the real question is not whether the ads are disgusting or not, but whether they are true or not, and the sources asserted the ads are indeed accurate.

The ads are to continue, as part of Labor's new, more aggressive campaign against the Ramon-Meretz-Shas list, the sources said.

"Besides, how can Shas threaten the coalition when it's not even part of the coalition?" said a source.

Labor yesterday accused Ramon of financial connections with haredi millionaire Moshe Reich, who is suspected of funding expensive ads for Deri, now awaiting trial on various corruption charges, and whose brother transferred funds for Deri's luxury apartment, according to the indictment.

The allegations appeared in ads consisting of newspaper headlines reporting the suspicions against Deri, and Ramon's connection to the affair.

Ramon, who with Deri had concocted "the stinking maneuver" that led to the breakup of the national unity government in 1990, later evaded participation in the Knesset vote to remove Deri's immunity so the latter could face criminal charges, the ads remind the public.

Also featured is a headline from last week, reporting that the Ramon list transferred NIS 1 million to Shas's *Yom Leyom* newspaper, of which Deri is the salaried president.

The ads were originally meant to be published two weeks ago, but Labor Secretary-General Nissim Zivli delayed publication so as not to hinder Shas's return to the coalition.

Ramon said yesterday that "there is an unrestricted incitement campaign going on against me. It's all false and we will not be provoked to take part in it."

Ramon denied all the allegations and said that there is no connection between Reich and the Histadrut election campaign.

Commenting on the controversial campaign ads, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said: "I don't like everything they publish against Haberefeld either, so what? Besides, the ads are only a marginal part of the campaign and only 5% of the public see them or are influenced by them." Peres said that he spent the whole day in the cabinet session yesterday, and nobody seemed to have noticed the ads or to mention them.

Peres yesterday urged all Labor members to vote for the party's candidate Haim Haberefeld in the Histadrut elections tomorrow. He said that many were under the mistaken impression that Labor is fielding two candidates, Ramon and Haberefeld, and it is imperative to make it clear that only Haberefeld represents Labor.

Nation celebrates Jerusalem Day

TENS of thousands of visitors are expected in the capital today for Jerusalem Day celebrations marking the 27th anniversary of the city's reunification.

Police, meanwhile, are braced for the possibility. Palestinian terrorists will carry out an attack in the city today to mar the celebrations and assert Palestinian claims to Jerusalem.

Jerusalem's new police chief, Cmdr. Aryeh Amit, said over 2,000 policemen and border policemen would be on hand to keep the peace. Over 50 events are scheduled for Jerusalem Day, which officially began last night.

"In the current climate, in which hope and opportunity are shadowed by fear and suspicion, my thoughts of Jerusalem are uppermost in our hearts," Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert said in his official Jerusalem Day opening ceremony - featuring a massive fireworks display and pop concert - was held at Safra Square in front of the new City Hall.

Tonight, celebrations will end with a concert and fireworks at Sultan's Pool, opposite Jaffa Gate.

In his holiday statement, Olmert reiterated his position that services and infrastructure must be improved in Arab sectors of the city, because "Jerusalem must be united not just geographically, but in all walks of life."

"The reunification of a once-divided Jerusalem highlights the uniqueness of the city," Olmert said, noting that, "in two years, Jerusalem will celebrate the 3,000th anniversary of its founding."

The city spokesman listed these main events today:

- IDF-sponsored marches, leaving from sites north and south of the city at 9 a.m.
- The annual Ma'amatz march, with over 30,000 participants expected, beginning at Independence Park at 4 p.m., through the gates of the Old City to the Western Wall.
- At 7:30 p.m., the close of the Ma'amatz march is to be marked with a prayer service at the Western Wall.
- Guided tours will be conducted of the new City Hall on Jaffa Street from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.
- A memorial service for Ethiopian Jews who died on their way to Israel, at Givat Hamatos at 10 a.m.
- An arts and crafts fair is scheduled for the Center of Conservative Judaism, 2 Agon Street, from 2:30 p.m. to 8 p.m.
- Jerusalem Day Run from Moshav Kishalon in the Jerusalem corridor to Teddy Stadium, starting at 9 a.m.
- Bicyclists will ride from the Hebrew University campus at Givat Ram to various historic points in the city, from 4 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.

Who?e JERUSALEM JERUSALEM

The issue of Jerusalem's status will be placed on the negotiating table, in two years from today. However, the open debate over the city's future is already under way. The UN Security Council resolution of March 18, 1949, referring to Jerusalem as "Palestinian occupied territory," may be regarded as the first breach in the wall of the united city. American abstention is small solace, in view of the mounting international pressure to sever East Jerusalem from Israel's capital.

Founded five years ago (in April 1989), our Forum has been dedicating itself to exposing and expounding the problem of Jerusalem, from its many angles. On this day, Jerusalem Day, we welcome our new members who are designated Guardians of Jerusalem.

We, the undersigned, reaffirm our solidarity with an undivided Jerusalem, the capital of Israel.

Honorary International Committee	NEW MEMBERS	Austria
Mayor Ehud Olmert	Israel	August Lowrek
Lord Balfour	Mayor Roni Milo	Belgium
Archbishop Lord Coggan	Gen. (Res.) Meir Amit	Chiel Rabbi Avraham Guigui
Arthur Cohn	Prof. Aharon Beller	Elmar Brok
Governor Mario M. Cuomo	Zeev Birger	Britain
Mel Dubin	Ruth Cheshin	Dr. Sir Rhodes Boyson
Abbas Eban	Amnon Ben David	Carol J. Bartfield
Abraham Foxman	Gen. (Res.) Avihu Bin Nun	Lewis L. Cadji
Jack Friedler	Reuven Dahi	Morris Conrad
Gen. (Res.) Shlomo Gazit	Justice Moshe Etzioni	Sydney Corob
Marc Gilbert	Paula Goldblum	Stuart J. Forster
Congressman Benjamin Gilman	Shlomo Hillel	Morris Fishman
Oto von Habsburg	Dr. Samuel Kelman	Colin Frier
Nat Kanner	Barry Klein	Mark Golinsky
Minister Tzvi Karkannemi	Gen. (Res.) Shlomo Lahat	Henry Knobli
Ephraim Kishon	Yehiel Lekat	Jack V. Lunzer
Teddy Kollek	Michael Levi Matar	J.D. Piftnick
Rabbi Dr. Norman Lamm	Leonard Maxwell	Susan Sainsbury
Justice Moshe Landau	Prof. Shlomo Melamed	Canada
Dr. Manfred R. Lehmann	Justice Shoshana Netanya	Rabbi Benjamin J. Friedberg
Isi Leibler	Yitzhak Nissenbaum	France
Sen. Howard Metzenbaum	Hui & Jay Pomerence	Jean-Thomas Nordmann
Senator Daniel Moynihan	U.S.A.	Gibraltar
Lester Pollack	Mayor J. Christian Bollwage	Isaac S. Attias
David Radler	Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler	James H. Attias
Chief Rabbi Dr. Jonathan Sacks	Rabbi Mervin Hior	Joseph S. Attias
Grand Rabbi Rene S. Sirat	Rt. Rev. John H. Burt	Samuel L. Attias
Senator Arlen Specter	Rev. Edward H. Flannery	Abraham Benatar
Cyril Stein	Sanford L. Batkin	Dylan T. Cavilla
Levi J. Attias	Mathilda Brailove	Charles Gross

(Partial List)

(Fifth List)

THE INTERNATIONAL FORUM FOR A UNITED JERUSALEM

If you wish to receive further information, or make a contribution, please write to: The Israel Forum for a United Jerusalem, P.O.B. 6771, Tel Aviv 61067. (Registered Non-profit Association No. 55-0177757-0.) U.S. Representative Office: Nat Kanner, 85 Thames Blvd., Bergenfield, N.J. 07621.

Whose Jerusalem - A book with this title, written by Elyahu Tal, will be on sale from June 1. The hard cover, \$50 p. volume, contains 270 illustrations and maps, 265 quotations, and a chronology of 375 dates. Forum members may purchase the book at a special price of \$18, excluding postage. Bookstore price: \$34. Orders to be sent to: S.T. Publishing, P.O.B. 6771, Tel Aviv 61067.

Cabinet to okay Gaza/Jericho accord on Wednesday

THE cabinet is to convene on Wednesday in special session to ratify the Gaza/Jericho accord, after which the agreement is to be brought to the Knesset for approval.

The cabinet vote was delayed until Wednesday, because ministers only received the 186 page Gaza/Jericho accord text yesterday. Below are some excerpts of the legal and security annexes:

• Criminal Jurisdiction
Israel has sole criminal jurisdiction over the following offenses: offenses committed in the settlements and the Military Installation Area subject to the provisions of this Annex; and offenses committed in the territory by Israelis.

Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall cooperate and provide each other with legal assistance in criminal matters. The Israel Police and the Palestinian Police shall cooperate in the conduct of investigations. Subject to detailed arrangements to be agreed upon, such cooperation shall include the exchange of information, records and fingerprints of criminal suspects, vehicle registration records, etc.

The Palestinian authorities shall not arrest or detain Israelis or place them in custody. Israelis can identify themselves by presenting

DAVID MAKOVSKY

Israeli documentation ...

Where an Israeli commits a crime against a person or property in the Territory, the Palestinian Police upon arrival at the scene of the offense shall immediately notify the Israeli authorities. Until the arrival of the Israeli military forces the Palestinian Police, may if necessary, detain the subject in place while ensuring his protection and the protection of all those involved and shall prevent interference with the scene of the offense, collect the necessary evidence, and conduct preliminary questioning.

When an offense is committed inside a settlement, and all those involved are Palestinians of the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area or their visitors, the Israeli military forces shall notify the Palestinian Police immediately and shall hand over the offender and the collected evidence to the Palestinian Police, unless the offense is security-related.

• Rules of Conduct in Security Matters:
Vehicles bearing Israeli license plates may be stopped by the Palestinian Police for the purpose of checking the driving license and passengers' identity documents.

tion ...

The Palestinian Authority may grant licenses to possess or carry pistols for civilian use. The modalities for granting such licenses, as well as the categories of persons who may be granted such licenses, will be agreed upon.

• Rules of Engagement:

In places where Israeli authorities exercise their security functions in accordance with this Annex, and in their immediate vicinity, the Israeli authorities may carry out engagement steps in cases where an act or an incident requires such action. In such cases, the Israeli authorities will take any measures necessary to bring to an end such an act or incident with a view of transferring, at the earliest opportunity, the continued handling of the incident falling within the Palestinian responsibility to the Palestinian Police.

Engagement with the use of firearms shall not be allowed, except as a last resort when all attempts at controlling the act or the incident, such as warning the perpetrator or shooting in the air, have failed. Use of firearms should be aimed at deterring and not at killing the perpetrator. The use of firearms shall cease once the danger is past.



Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin delivers a eulogy for former chief of staff Haim Bar-Lev, at his funeral yesterday in the Sharon Cemetery. 'Haim fell while serving his country,' said Rabin of Bar-Lev, who was ambassador to Russia when he died. 'It was about him that Nathan Alterman wrote, "They carried their nation on their shoulders."'

Aharon Yariv: Architect of IDF's modern intelligence doctrine

ALON PINKAS

MAJ.-GEN. (res.) Aharon Yariv, perhaps the IDF's most prominent Chief of Intelligence Branch, a position he held between 1964-1973, will be buried today in the military section of the Kiryat Shaul cemetery.

His coffin will be displayed at the Intelligence Corps memorial site in Giliot in the afternoon. Yariv, 74, died of complications resulting from a stroke suffered late last year.

Born in Russia in 1920, Yariv joined the Hagana in 1939, and later, while in the British army, was involved in the freeing of concentration camp survivors. Yariv was the first Israeli student to ever attend the French Military Command and Staff School, after which he was the defense attaché in Washington.

Yariv's enduring legacy will be his laying of the theoretical, conceptual and doctrinal foundations for a modernized and sophisticated military intelligence organization during his tenure as Chief of Intelligence Branch, gaining the professional respect and acclaim of senior western military intelligence officers.

He was replaced by Maj.-Gen. Eli Ze'ira prior to the Yom Kippur War. On the second day of the war, Yariv was remobilized for "special counsel" at the demand of then chief of staff Lt.-Gen. David Elazar.

Following the war, the com-

mander of the Intelligence Branch's data compilation unit, Colonel Yoel Ben-Porat, charged that Ze'ira consistently dismissed all indications of a coming war. "You should have come to me," said Yariv, as quoted in a book Ben-Porat wrote two years ago. The quote echoed a prevailing notion that under Yariv, the army would not have been taken by surprise.

Following his high profile as head of the Israeli delegation to the "101st Kilometer" disengagement talks with the Egyptian Chief of Staff, General Gamasi, Yariv embarked on a short-lived political career that will be remembered for the Yari-Shem-Tov formula, timely as ever since the Oslo agreement.

Yariv, as Minister of Information, and Mapam Health Minister Victor Shem-Tov offered a formula under which Israel would regard as a negotiating partner any Arab country or organization which recognized Israel and rejected terrorism. Yariv resigned his post shortly afterwards.

Since 1977, when he established the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Yariv was regarded as Israel's premier civilian strategist, in effect breaking the defense establishment's monopoly over strategic studies and debate in Israel. Within a decade, the Jaffee Center became a leading center of its kind in the world.

Ground Corps Command gets new systems, cuts training

ALON PINKAS

THE IDF Ground Corps Command, celebrating its 10th anniversary, yesterday unveiled the new "Achzarit" (Cruel) Armored Personnel Carrier, and is preparing to receive the US Made MLRS (Multiple Launched Rocket System) by the end of the year.

In a meeting with military correspondents, the GCC Commander, Major-General Immanuel Sakal said that the GCC - the Training and Doctrine command for the Armor, Artillery, Infantry and Field Engineering corps - is gearing up for another year of diminished training time caused by the IDF's responsibilities in the territories and its preoccupation with routine security tasks and redeployment in Gaza. Infantry units recently began receiving and using the "Achzarit," a revolutionary

APC, designed, according to Sakal "as an emergency project highlighted by high maneuverability levels and a high survivability, providing the infantry crew with tank-level armored protection."

The "Achzarit," whose anti-armor munitions armor and survivability were developed by Maj.-Gen. (res.) Israel Tal, the developer of the Merkava tank, was designed as an armored vehicle capable of carrying 10 infantry soldiers and advancing with tanks in front line assaults.

The "Achzarit," built on a Russian made T-55 chassis, is equipped with a machine gun system operational from within the vehicle in day or night battle and an anti-chemical-biological system allowing it to operate in contaminated areas.

Arab MK: Hamas leader opposes terrorist attacks on innocent people

JON IMMANUEL

MK Taleb a-Sanasa (Arab Democratic Party) met with Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin in his jail cell yesterday and left with the strong impression that Yassin opposed terrorist attacks against innocent people, and would not use violence against other Palestinians.

He also said violence against Israel was only aimed at the areas Israel captured in the Six Day War. "We are against the occupation and our struggle is concerned with ending the occupation," a-Sanasa quoted Yassin as saying. Yassin said Hamas "would cooperate with the Palestinian police and would not use violence against the PLO," according to a-Sanasa.

On April 29, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said on Channel One that "if Ahmed Yassin gets up and says he is for peace and against violence, and not as he has said, [and] that he is against violence in the territory (under PLO control), we will release him."

However, a-Sanasa said Yassin "did not agree that his release should depend on any conditions." Yassin, 59, was imprisoned three years ago for ordering the murder of suspected Palestinian collaborators. He was charged with the kidnapping of soldiers Ilan Saadon and Avi Sasportas, but that charge was later dropped and another Hamas agent was jailed for the crimes.

Sarid raps Barak for promoting controversial officer Effi Fein

DAVID MAKOVSKY

ENVIRONMENT Minister Yossi Sarid blasted IDF Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Ehud Barak yesterday for overruling a standing recommendation by the IDF Judge Advocate-General and promoting Col. Effi Fein.

Fein, promoted last week by Barak to the rank of brigadier-general with the approval of Prime Minister and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, was allegedly involved in the beating of two Palestinians during the early days of the intifada, one of whom died.

"This promotion sends a negative, anti-educational message to the army," Sarid declared. "Effi Fein encouraged violence, was personally involved in violence. He should have stood trial as his soldiers did. He was not tried, since he was to be reprimanded, and not promoted."

"Now, there is an impossible situation. Not only was he not tried, but he was promoted, completely at odds with the Judge Advocate-General's recommendation. This is a mistaken decision, and it's a shame we learned of it after it happened. At least we should know that it is his last promotion," Sarid stated.

Fein was a Givati commander in

February 1988, when he was heard over the military radio ordering his troops to use clubs to break the bones of two Gazan rioters at the start of the intifada. One of the two died from the beating. The incident occurred around the time then defense minister Rabin called on the IDF to break the bones of Palestinians actively involved in the intifada.

In the trial in 1990, four Givati soldiers under Fein's command, including two officers, were convicted of assault. While Fein avoided conviction, he was severely reprimanded by the IDF Judge Advocate-General Ilan Shiff recommended to Barak that Fein not be promoted.

In response to Sarid's criticism yesterday, Rabin and Barak justified the move as within the purview of their discretion. Fein's wife, Irit Eitam, said yesterday: "By his brave decision, the chief of staff has redeemed the entire IDF from the shame of destroying the democratic principle which states that a person is innocent until proven guilty." Speaking on Israel Radio, she refused to say whether her husband was involved in or ordered the beatings.

VILNAY

(Continued from Page One)
there seem to be at least 40 shades of gray governing the security arrangements that will prevail in the autonomous areas.

"It will be first and foremost a test of good will, and plenty of it on both sides, if this thing will ever work," admitted a senior Southern Command officer.

"We have begun planning for this as early as September 1993, immediately following the Oslo accord. We planned for worst-case scenarios, although we doubt their plausibility, but still see opponents of the agreement resorting to violence to disrupt implementation," said Vilnay.

"I must tell you that the maps we drafted then, reflecting our concept of security and defense in the Gaza strip, are identical to the maps signed in Cairo. We have not compromised on any security detail, and Israel demanded and retained exclusive responsibility for all external security. Our task is to defend the state of Israel and the Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip. Thus, we did not recommend the dismantling of any settlement on the basis of inability to defend it," he said.

However, it is still unclear how problems or crises will be actually resolved in the areas designated for joint Israeli-Palestinian patrols.

In these areas, designated in yellow on the maps, if the patrol does not reach an immediate solution, the joint "operation room" will decide, with each side enjoying the right of veto.

This procedure also applies to situations when a patrol reaches the area of Israeli settlements, called a "zoned" area, demarcated with a blue line.

"According to the agreement, no two armed forces will ever split responsibility in a given place and time," said Vilnay.

"This is very complicated and there are various difficult scenarios, but ultimately it will be up to the two sides, their willingness and adherence to the letter and spirit of the agreement, to overcome problems," noted Dayan.

NEWS IN BRIEF

New mother dies of stroke

The firstborn son of Ya'acov and Vicky Korhali had his ritual circumcision yesterday at Beersheva's Soroka Hospital, but his mother did not live to see it. Vicky, 22, had died of a still unexplained stroke just five days after delivery.

Doctors at Soroka "very much want a pathological exam to be performed" on the mother, said a hospital spokeswoman, but the family has refused; though an autopsy would find the cause of her death and might have a bearing on the health of her son.

Namir brings antagonists together

MINISTER of Labor and Social Affairs Ora Namir last night for the first time succeeded in bringing together two of the antagonists in the social workers strike, now in its 19th day. Association of Social Workers head Eli Ben-Gera was invited for coffee at her Tel Aviv home, as was Treasury wage director Shalom Granit, who has vowed not to meet with the union as long as its 9,000 members are on strike.

Bid to end pharmacists' strike

Representatives of the pharmacists union and the Treasury last night failed to end the strike by 1,200 public-sector pharmacists that began in the morning, causing some shortages in drug supplies in hospitals. Union chief Dvora Arad said the pharmacists are demanding a 40 percent wage increase - while the Treasury is offering about 30 percent.

Probe into misplaced radioactive waste

THE Environment Ministry is investigating the radioactive waste disposal procedure at Soroka Hospital after discovering that waste meant for the Negev Nuclear Research Center reached the Ramat Hovav toxic waste site, which is not authorized or equipped to handle it.

Teachers union declares work dispute

The Histadrut Teachers Union yesterday declared a work dispute, claiming plans by Tel Aviv to have special classes for better-off pupils threaten the principle of social integration.

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

For Ben-Gurion University of the Negev's 24th Board of Governors Meeting: from Britain - Countess Avon, Sidney and Elizabeth Corob, Rena and Leon Gamsa; from Belgium - Irene, Georges, and Corinne Evens.

Intel clears first hurdle to building new plant in capital

A disputed plan for a multi-million-dollar Intel computer factory on park land in northern Jerusalem received initial approval yesterday, by a 7 to 1 vote of the municipal committee for expediting construction. The Har Hotzvim project now awaits the local planning committee's final approval.

The Management and Staff of the Jewish Agency mourn the death of

Rav Aluf (Res.) HAIM BAR-LEV
Israel Ambassador in Moscow, Chief of Staff, Knesset Member, and Government Minister
and extend condolences to the family.

Yehiel Leket Acting Chairman, Jewish Agency Moshav Nativ Director General, Jewish Agency Mendel Kaplan Chairman, Board of Governors

We deeply mourn the passing of our dear personal friend

Maj. Gen. AHARON YARIV
Founder of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies
and extend our condolences to the family.

Mei and Raya Jaffee

With deep sorrow, we announce the death of

SYLVIA NAVON
on Friday, May 6, 1994.
She will be sadly missed by all her loving family:

Brother: Louis (and Selma) Hooker and family
Sister: Lily (and Dave) Meyerson and family
Sister: Phyllis (and Ike) Witt and family
Brothers and sisters in England and America and the entire family in Israel and abroad

The Jerusalem International YMCA extends heartfelt condolences to

Yossi Eisenberg
and the family, on the death of his

Father

The Management and Staff of the Jewish Agency mourn the death of

Rabbi MOSHE ROSEN
Chief Rabbi of Romania and Head of the Jewish Community and extend condolences to his wife Amalia and to Romanian Jews in Israel and abroad.

Yehiel Leket Acting Chairman, Jewish Agency Moshav Nativ Director General, Jewish Agency Mendel Kaplan Chairman, Board of Governors

The World Jewish Restitution Organization deeply regrets the passing of a great leader of the Jewish people

The Chief Rabbi of Romanian Jewry

Rabbi Dr. MOSHE ROSEN

We extend to the Jewish Community of Romania our sincere condolences.

Bar-Ilan University - The Chief Rabbi Moshe Rosen Chair
The holder of the Chair, Chancellor Professor E. Rackman, and members of the Academic Committee
mourn with deep sorrow the death of

Rabbi Dr. DAVID MOSHE ROSEN
Chief Rabbi of Romania

and extend condolences to the Rabbanit and the family.

We join Myra Simon in mourning the tragic loss of her dearly beloved brother

NORMAN WEINBERG
Prof. Legum and the staff of the Genetic Institute, Ichilov Hospital

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Police tell Golan activists: Keep demos within the law

HERB KEINON

NORTHERN District police chief Ya'acov Ganot met with three Golan Heights activists yesterday to open a direct line of communication in light of an expected wave of anti-government demonstrations on the Golan.

Last week there were three demonstrations in the region, including the closing of the Bnot Ya'acov bridge which links the Golan and Galilee, where tires were burned and a number of scuffles broke out between the protesters and the police.

The Golan settlement's committee has said it will step up its protest actions following recent overtures by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to the Syrians.

The Arik Bridge, another bridge linking the Galilee and Go-

lan, was torched last week, and the police have not yet arrested a suspect. A Northern District police spokesman said that all possibilities are being investigated, including the possibility that the bridge was set alight by Golan residents. The Golan Settlement Committee has condemned the arson. Firefighters put out the fire Wednesday night, preventing serious damage.

Katzrin local council head Samy Bar-Lev, who met Ganot with Golan activists Yehuda Mali and Eli Malka, urged the police to show "restraint" in dealing with the protesters. "It is our right to protest," Bar-Lev said. "We told Ganot that he is not dealing with criminals or hoodlums, but people pained by the current situation."

IEC threatens to cut off electricity to Gaza Strip for non-payment of debt

GALTI LIPKIS BECK

THE Israel Electric Corp. (IEC) yesterday threatened to cut off power to the Gaza District on Wednesday after repeated notices to the local authorities there to pay or guarantee payment of its outstanding debt to the electricity company.

The company's board of directors decided to cut power supplies to the Gaza District unless it receives the authorities' guarantee to cover payment for Gaza's accumulated debt of NIS 37 million.

The IEC already has a guarantee from the Gaza authorities to cover payment of NIS 9.5m, but is demanding a guarantee to cover payment of the remaining NIS 28.5m. debt. The IEC has also demanded the authorities guarantee to cover regular monthly electricity payments, which increase the debt by NIS 6 million each month.

IEC Managing Director Moshe Katz said: "We have to operate solely under business considerations and must not discriminate between Israeli customers and customers from the territories."

IEC said it considered taking similar measures against the Hebron municipality which accumulated a debt of NIS 4.1m. with the company. Several days ago, after repeated notices, the IEC received a NIS 3m. payment reducing the total amount owed by the Hebron municipality to the IEC to NIS 1.1m. The municipality has guaranteed to repay the remaining NIS 1.1m. outstanding debt.

Kessar: Jericho bypass to cost NIS200m.; repair work has begun

LIAT COLLINS and Tim

CONSTRUCTION of the Jericho bypass road will cost some NIS 200 million, Transport Minister Yisrael Kessar revealed yesterday.

Tractors and other heavy equipment have begun repair work on the security road, which is to make up part of the Jericho bypass road.

The work is to include repaving the road, widening its shoulders and improving signposting. A tender for building the first section of the road, a two-kilometer stretch from Na'ama to the repaired security road, will be issued soon. That project is expected to take about three months.

Kessar also said that his ministry had prepared plans and detailed maps for renewing land, air and sea links with Jordan once a peace agreement is signed between the two countries.

Kessar said Israel is interested in supplying commercial transport services to Jordan via the Ashdod and Haifa ports. "Jordan has no

access to the sea except the Port of Akaba, and we are trying to supply the Jordanians with fast, effective transport services," he said.

On a visit to the Jordan Valley and the Beit She'an Valley, Kessar said the latter could serve as an important junction for travelers between Israel and Jordan. He said the idea of highways and railway lines linking Israeli ports with Amman was not farfetched.

Meanwhile, the Israel Road Transport Board has asked transport companies in the autonomous areas to consider establishing a joint board to coordinate transportation matters.

According to board chairman David Shavit, such cooperation will prevent unsupervised competition which would harm the consumer waste resources. The offer to establish a joint body was forwarded to the government authorities dealing with the economic aspects of the agreement, Shavit said.

All MKs may speak at debate on Israel-PLO agreement

DAN IZENBERG

ALL 120 MKs will be allowed to speak during the Knesset debate on the Israel-PLO agreement, which is scheduled to start Wednesday morning and end some time Thursday, a Knesset spokesman said yesterday.

A Labor Party spokesman, however, said the government has not yet decided whether Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin will present the full agreement to the plenum.

The announcement that the plenum will discuss the agreement did not elicit much excitement from the opposition. Tsomet said Rabin was "taking the easy way out" by bringing the agreement to the Knesset, where he knows he has a majority.

"We would like to see such crucial issues put to a vote in general elections," said Tsomet faction spokesman Naftali Yaniv. Tsomet also complained that the government was bringing the agreement to the Knesset after it had been signed and gone into effect.

The Knesset will likely debate the planned discussions between Israel, the PLO, Jordan and Egypt on the possible return of tens of thousands of thousands of Palestinians who fled from Judea, Samaria and Gaza during and after the Six Day War.

Tsomet Party chairman Raphael Eitan has submitted an urgent

motion to the Knesset presidium and Uzi Landau (Likud) has presented a private member's bill which would prevent the government from agreeing to the return of Palestinian refugees.

Landau warned that if the government gives in to PLO demands, "high rise buildings occupied by hungry Palestinian refugees will be built near Jerusalem and Kfar Sava; they will flood the Israeli labor market and walk about in the streets of Israel, threatening the lives of the population."

In other developments, law committee chairman Dedi Zucker said he planned to meet with Shas MKs today or tomorrow to iron out differences over the wording of human rights legislation that has kept Shas from carrying out its agreement to rejoin the coalition. Shas is up in arms over a proposed addition to the bill, linking it to the Declaration of Independence, which guarantees full equality to all citizens of Israel.

"They are afraid it will upset the religious status quo but it will not be difficult to resolve the problem," Zucker said. "We just want to make certain that the status quo is not upset in the opposite direction, either."

The Knesset will not meet tomorrow because of the Histadrut elections.

Weizman leaves to attend Mandela's inauguration

PRESIDENT Ezer Weizman and his wife Reuma left for South Africa yesterday to attend the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first democratically-elected president.

Weizman was accompanied by members of his staff, Foreign Ministry Deputy Director-General Eitan Benzur and a large contingent of journalists.

BatSheva Tsor

Police predict more terror attacks in capital

BILL HUTMAN

AN upswing in terror is likely in Jerusalem as Palestinian terror groups look to press the government to make political concessions on the city, Jerusalem's outgoing and newly-appointed police chiefs warned yesterday.

"The minute things are finished with Gaza and Jericho the subject of Jerusalem will come up, and it is fair to assume that the Palestinians will try to put facts on the ground, through acts of terror, and political activity," said Yehuda Wilk, who officially resigned yesterday as Jerusalem police commander.

His replacement, Arye Amit, said that an expected result of Jerusalem becoming the major topic of the peace talks is the increased effort by Palestinian terror groups to carry out attacks in the city.

They were speaking at a press conference held just after command was formally passed from Wilk to Amit.

Amit, 44, declined to go into details on what police would do to try to handle the expected upswing in terror.

He made clear, however, that he plans to carry out widespread changes in the structure of the Jerusalem police district to improve the city's police force.

Asked for his reaction to reports Arafat would pray soon on the Temple Mount, he said he had yet to form a position on the issue. However, he said it was clear that if Arafat was allowed



Outgoing Jerusalem police chief Yehuda Wilk (left) hands over command to his successor, Arye Amit, at a ceremony in the capital yesterday.

to come to Jerusalem, it would take a massive police effort to ensure the public's and the PLO leader's security.

Meanwhile, Wilk made his final swipe while in uniform at newly-instated Inspector-General

Assaf Hefetz, over whose appointment he resigned.

"There are those people who only criticize, while there are others who have to take responsibility and act," Wilk said, in reaction to Hefetz's criticism of his not taking

tougher action against Arab rioters on the Temple Mount.

Wilk said he left the district in better order than when he found it, pointing to figures showing that under 14 months of his command, terror attacks and crime were

down.

Wilk, considered one of Israel Police's top officers before resigning, said he had not yet decided on his next job. "I'm sure you won't find me out fishing, with nothing to do," he said.



CITIZENS OF ISRAEL WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE HISTADRUT

We are making this direct appeal to you jointly, before you cast your vote in the Histadrut elections. These elections are not about personalities, but about a Movement's struggle for direction, unity and integrity. This is the real decision facing you.

We are committed to a task that is both difficult and full of hope: to bring about a historic change in Israel - in national priorities, in rehabilitating society and the economy, in building the infrastructure, in making peace with our neighbors.

We have undertaken to implement a change that only a united, determined Labor Party, the major movement in the country, can bring about. We are the sole address for change in the Histadrut, for change in the country, because there is no force other than us.

It is sad that precisely when we are called upon to make the supreme effort to achieve the objectives that the public want, we are distracted from the national effort by a personal struggle.

No one should be disqualified from entering the public arena. But we should not encourage someone who puts forward his candidacy for a post, loses, and refuses to accept the decision of the democratic majority. Let there be no misunderstanding. The State of Israel faces fateful decisions, and cannot allow itself to harm the democratic process. To allow this would be to undermine democratic values and endanger the only true process of decision making in a modern advanced country.

Dear Voter,

There is no argument about the main issue: The Histadrut is vital to the country and to the working public, but it must change and adapt itself to a new, hopeful reality. This is the will of its voting members. As a democratic movement, it is incumbent upon us to implement this.

Only Labor can create a single, strong and renewed Histadrut, free of coalition blackmail.

The strength of the Labor party today is the single dominant factor that will determine the country's fate. This is no time for a protest vote. What we need now is to get down to serious work.

Sincerely,
Yitzhak Rabin

Shimon Peres



I BELIEVE IN LABOR

Mandela calls for unity, thanks churches for support

National thanksgiving service precedes tomorrow's inauguration

SOWETO (Reuters) - Nelson Mandela yesterday thanked the religious faiths he said had helped him survive long years in jail and would help South Africa unite.

Mandela focused on a theme of reconciliation, speaking outside the sprawling black township of Soweto ahead of his inauguration tomorrow as South Africa's first black president.

"There is one force in this country which has had a tremendous impact, that is religion, that is the church," president-elect Mandela told a 5,000-strong crowd.

He appeared at a televised national thanksgiving service for the peaceful election last month of a government led by his African National Congress.

Surrounded by campaigning churchmen like Nobel Peace prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu and British anti-apartheid campaigner Bishop Trevor Huddleston, Mandela said men of faith from all religions had helped him through 27 years in prison.

"As one who has spent not a few months in jail," he said to cheers from the crowd at his irony, "there is nothing which reveals more about the cruelty of the policies of a country than what happens behind prison walls."

In those long years on Robben Island and for black South Africans at large, he said, the churches "made us realise that however difficult the situation, one day we will return."

"We are saying, let us hold hands as we've done here. The time for men and women, African, Coloured, Indian, white, Afri-

kaans-speaking and English-speaking, the time has come to say: 'We are one country. We are one people.'"

The fight against apartheid, he told the largely black audience, was "not a struggle against any racial group. It is a struggle against a system of repression."

Tutu, standing beside a wooden cross, led the crowd in the chant: "We are the Rainbow People of God. We are free. All of us black and white together."

The turnout for the service, in a football stadium which has space for up to 80,000 people, was low compared to the huge crowds that mobbed the ANC leader during his victorious campaign for last month's historic all-race elections.

But there was no shortage of joy. Mandela danced gently and swayed to the compelling black gospel singing and hymns.

Huddleston, an 81-year-old veteran of the international apartheid movement, flew in from London for a ceremony he said he feared he might never get to see.

"I always said I wanted to see apartheid dead before I was," he said. "As I am now 81, I think I have seen apartheid dead."

Mandela attended Moslem and Jewish services on Friday and Saturday as part of his bid to bring reconciliation. Wearing a prayer cap, he told Jews gathered at a Cape Town synagogue on Saturday the new South Africa needed their skills and resources, and appealed to those overseas to return.

He also said whites had no need to fear black majority rule.

Major's Conservatives shook by sex scandal, damaging opinion poll

LONDON (Reuters) - Prime Minister John Major's ruling Conservative Party, routed in local elections last week, suffered further humiliation yesterday when a newspaper broke a fresh sex scandal and another published a damaging opinion poll.

The double blow added to the travails of Major, the most unpopular premier on record and seemingly closer to a leadership challenge from within the party which ousted his predecessor Margaret Thatcher in 1990 as a general election liability.

A poll conducted for the *Sunday Times* newspaper predicted Conservatives would win just 12 seats in European parliamentary elections being held on June 9 compared to 56 for the opposition Labor Party and 14 for the centrist Liberal Democrats.

In last week's local council elections, the Conservative Party slumped to just 27 percent of the vote behind the main opposition parties with all of the local council seats in London and Scotland and a third of the seats in other authorities in England and Wales up for grabs.

But yesterday the government, hoping to put on a united front in the run-up to the European election test, was hit when a sitting member of parliament gave up his job as a junior government whip.

Michael Brown, one of several members charged with keeping backbenchers to the party line in parliament, stepped down after

the News of the World tabloid alleged he had a homosexual relationship with a student.

Brown said he would take legal action against the paper: "This will require my personal and direct attention which I could not pursue as long as I remained in government."

Major's "Back to Basics" campaign launched last year for a return to traditional family values has been derided after Conservatives became embroiled in a series of scandals.

One junior minister quit after admitting he had fathered two children out of wedlock and another went after his wife committed suicide over his reported affair with a socialite.

Conservative member of parliament Stephen Milligan, a former journalist, was found dead with a plastic bag over his head in his London home after an auto-erotic fantasy which apparently went tragically wrong.

Conservative divisions, policy U-turns and the perception that the party is tired and bereft of ideas after 15 years in power contributed to the reaction from British voters last week.

Chancellor of the Exchequer Kenneth Clarke, among the names most widely mentioned as a successor to Major, said yesterday the prime minister "has been subjected to a dreadful personal campaign of a kind I do not recall any leading political figure being subjected to over the last 25 years".

US expands screening of Haitian boat people

WASHINGTON (AP) - Responding to intensifying violence and repression in Haiti, the United States plans to begin offshore screening of Haitian boat people seeking political asylum in the United States.

"As violence has increased, we wanted to make sure that people who are fleeing on boats have an opportunity to assert those claims outside of Haiti before they are taken back and turned over to Haitian authorities," Deputy National Security Adviser Sandy Berger said yesterday.

The decision to process asylum claims on US ships outside Haiti, coupled with plans to impose tougher UN-backed sanctions on the military regime, came amid criticism that the administration has failed in its policies aimed at restoring democracy in Haiti.

Two French missionaries slain in Algiers

ALGERS (AP) - Gunmen killed two French missionaries in the Casbah yesterday, security forces said, bringing to 34 the number of foreigners killed in a Muslim fundamentalist insurgency.

The slayings occurred as thousands marched in government-supported demonstrations for dialogue and against the insurgency.

The government reiterated its refusal to talk with groups refusing to renounce violence.

The gunmen shot Paule-Helene Saint Raymond, 67, and Henri Verges, 64, two librarians at a Catholic-run library, and then fled.

It was the first time missionaries had been killed in a wave of attacks on foreigners.

North Yemen predicts fall of Aden today

Foreigners leave by boats, planes

JEROME SOCOLOVSKY

LAWDAR

NORTH Yemen claimed yesterday its forces had battled their way to the suburbs of Aden, the southern capital, where the rival socialist leadership ordered a general mobilization to defend the city.

Northern officials predicted Aden would fall today.

As Yemen sank deeper into civil war, foreigners fled on boats, planes and helicopters from the northern capital, Sana'a, from Aden and the southern port city, Mukalla. Some 1,500 people, mainly Americans and Europeans, had left by Saturday.

The US Embassy advised all 5,000 Americans to leave. The French Foreign Ministry said 200-300 people were expected to be evacuated from Sana'a to Djibouti aboard three French flights yesterday.

The International Committee of the Red Cross said it would try to send a team into southern Yemen today to assess the needs from the fighting. It also said it was trying to get 5 tons of medical supplies into Yemen from Djibouti, across the Red Sea.

The south has said hundreds have been killed on both sides since Thursday. The north has not commented on casualties.

Yemen has been edging toward civil war since August when its vice president, a southerner, walked out of the government, dissatisfied with the slow pace of integration following the May 1990 merger of conservative, tribal North Yemen and socialist South Yemen.

UN monitors deploy along Serb lines in Brcko

SARAJEVO (Reuters) - A group of UN military observers arrived in the volatile northern Brcko region yesterday to head off possible battles over a vital Serb corridor.

Around Sarajevo, the United Nations continued its hunt for a Bosnian Serb tank which evaded its control within the heavy weapons exclusion zone around the Bosnian capital.

The week-long confusion resulting from a UN decision to allow Serb tanks through the exclusion zone has damaged prospects of reopening peace talks and exposed rifts in the UN command.

In Vienna, Croatian and Bosnian Muslim negotiators yesterday began a second day of talks on establishing a US-brokered Bosnian federation, with both sides optimistic an agreement was in sight.

Neither Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic nor Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic would talk to journalists as they entered the US embassy in Vienna.

Both said after weekend talks that progress had been made.

The Bosnian Serbs, who control some 70 percent of the land in Bosnia, are not taking part, and



A soldier of the French Foreign Legion deployed in Djibouti carries a child, one of 570 Americans and Europeans evacuated from Aden aboard the French naval ship Jules Verne over the weekend. (AP)

Yemen. The impoverished nation of 14 million sits on the tip of the Arabian Peninsula.

Northern officials said their forces had surrounded Aden in a pincer-like manner, leaving the southerners with their backs to the Gulf of Aden.

Information Ministry spokesman Mohamed Handal said two northern divisions were converging on Lahij, north of Aden, and surrounding the southern Anad division, west of the southern capital.

Earlier, a northern Defense Ministry spokesman claimed northern troops had wiped out

southern forces and militiamen in Lahij. Forty troops deserted to northern ranks and 200 militiamen surrendered, it said.

From Lahij, the northern brigade continued its advance and was last reported engaged in battles with the southerners in Alam, an Aden suburb about 20 km north of the Red Sea port city, the radio said.

Col. Neji Ali Obeid, commander of the Lahij base 175 km northeast of Aden, claimed northern forces were about 15 km west of Aden.

"With the help of God, we will enter Aden today if not tomorrow," said northern Col. Zeid Hassan Rabaat, of the Amalq Brigades at Lahij.

The northern military command flew a group of journalists from Sana'a, the northern capital, to Lahij yesterday.

Obeid claimed northern forces yesterday won a three-day battle against southern brigades at Al-Mahfad, about 100 km east of Lahij, and said the south suffered heavy casualties. He claimed the north's losses were light. He gave no figures.

In Aden, a general mobilization of army units and the Yemen Socialist Party was announced on the

Fighting abates in Kigali

NAIROBI (AP) - Fighting abated in Rwanda's bloodied capital yesterday after a week of heavy shelling between the army and rebels. But there were reports that government recruits were training for battles ahead.

"We are not aware of a ceasefire and we don't really know what the lull means," said Abdul Kabia, director of the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda.

"Based on experience, it is likely there will be a sudden resumption of the fighting," Kabia said by telephone from Kigali.

He said fighting between rebel and army forces continued in the northwestern town of Rubengeri and southern town of Bugasera.

The lull in Kigali followed heavy fighting in which Rwandan Patriotic Front rebels made substantial gains in the capital, said a UN source in Kigali.

The fighting between the majority Hutu, who dominate the army and the government, and the minority Tutsi, who lead the rebel movement, began after the president died in a mysterious plane crash in Kigali on April 6.

Teenager shakes the hand of man who flogged him

SINGAPORE (AP) - American teenager Michael Fay shook the hand of the man who flogged him and smiled as he went back to his prison cell, according to Singapore officials yesterday.

In a statement, the Prisons Department, which said it "does not normally comment on individual prisoners," challenged "wild allegations and misinformation" attributed to Fay's father and his American lawyer that the youth had been slashed bloody and was unable to walk afterwards.

Fay, 18, was given four strokes of a rattan cane Thursday.

His original sentence of six was reduced after appeals from President Clinton.

"Michael Fay walked back to his own cell after the caning, saying

that he wanted to act like a man. He shook the caner's hand and smiled when he went back to his cell," the statement said.

"As far as the Singapore government is concerned, the episode is closed," Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong told reporters after a weekend garden party.

"We will leave it to the United States to decide what they wish to do. I think our relations are robust enough to withstand whatever actions they might take against us," Goh added.

US Vice-Consul John Coe visited Fay at Queenstown Prison about 24 hours after the lashing. The teenager was one of 10 Queenstown prisoners to be smacked on the bare buttocks with a rattan cane.

Twiggs family given custody of Kimberly Mays

SEBRING, Fla. (AP) - The biological parents of a teenager who was switched-at-birth have been given custody of her by the man who raised her. After a week of negotiations, Ernest and Regina Twigg have reached an agreement with Robert Mays, who raised the 15-year-old Kimberly Mays from birth, John Blakely, a lawyer for the Twiggs, said yesterday.

"It's a nice Mother's Day present for Mrs. Twigg, isn't it?" Blakely asked. "I know the final agreement is acceptable to everyone, including Kimberly."

Kimberly received a judge's permission last August to legally stay away from the Twiggs. But in March she suddenly left Mays and went to stay with the Twiggs in

Sebring. A lawyer described the reason as typical adolescent conflict.

Under the new agreement, the judge's order from August was thrown out. Instead, the Twiggs, and Mays are recognized as Kimberly's legal guardians. The teenager will live with the Twiggs until she becomes an adult - or asks to leave - and Mays will be allowed to visit, Blakely said.

Previously, only Mays and his wife, Darlene, had legal guardianship. Darlene adopted Kimberly in September, but the adoption was nullified by the agreement. The baby girl the Twiggs took home from a rural hospital in 1978 was named Arlene. She died of a heart defect in 1988.



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הלואה מן הלאו

JERUSALEM DAY QUIZ

Here are the answers to the quiz.

1. The heaviest stone of the Western Wall weighs approximately 100 tons.
2. The Dome of the Rock was built by Caliph Abd al Malik in 692 CE.
3. John the Baptist is buried at Ein Kerem.
4. Prof. Albert Einstein delivered the first lecture at the Hebrew University opening, in Hebrew.
5. All three newspapers, *The Palestine (Jerusalem) Post*, *Do'ar Ha'yom* and *Ha'aretz*, were established in Jerusalem.
6. On entering Jaffa Gate and dismounting from his horse, Gen. Allanby said, "We return to you."
7. The tomb of the Hellenized High Priest Jason is located in Rehavia opposite the Jewish Agency compound.
8. During the capture of the Jewish Quarter in 1948, 58 synagogues were destroyed/desecrated by the Arabs.
9. The Neve Ya'acov agricultural village is named after Rabbi Ya'acov Reines, one of the founders of the Mizrahi religious movement.
10. The YMCA building was designed in 1933 by Arthur Louis Harmon, architect of the Empire State Building.
11. British travellers Richardson, (1820) and Came (1821) recorded that the Jews constituted the city's largest ethnic group. They attained a full majority in 1875.
12. Whereas Godfrey and Tancred captured Jerusalem, Richard the Lionhearted reached the city's approaches but failed to capture the city.
13. Saladin who captured Jerusalem in 1187, and is considered a great hero by the Arabs was, in fact, a Kurd.
14. The Ramban (Nachmanides) in 1267 and Judah the Pious in 1700 settled in Jerusalem. The Gaon of Vilna never visited Jerusalem.
15. All three famous travellers visited Jerusalem - Benjamin of Tudela in 1173, Marco Polo in ca. 1275, Sven Hedin in 1916.

We hope you got them all right.

Man plus woman equals ... pure tango

HELEN KAYE

It takes eight to tango. At least it does in *Tangokinesis*, which will be performed by Tango Dance Company (TDC) of Argentina at the Israel Festival starting next week.

TDC choreographer Ana Maria Stekelman started her career three decades ago as a modern dancer, before returning to her national roots by forming TDC. "It's a ceremony for a man and a woman, a male-female dance," she said over the phone from her Buenos Aires home. "You never dance the tango alone, and I love that."

Tangokinesis is a dance for four couples. They take off from the tango and return to it, exploring the different shapes of modern dance, Stekelman explains. She's making her second visit to Israel. The first was 18 years ago, to visit a niece who now lives in the US.

"My father's sister settled in Eretz Yisrael after World War I," Stekelman explains, adding that she hopes to visit with her Israeli branch of the family while she's here.

She was born and grew up in a traditional Jewish home in Buenos Aires and started to dance at the age of 10. "I saw a children's ballet, and it caught my imagination."

At 16 - she'll be 50 in September - Stekelman went over to modern dance, traveling to New

York in 1968 to study with Martha Graham.

Returning to Argentina, she danced with companies like Oscar Araiz. In 1976, she became a founding member of the San Martin Theatre Contemporary Ballet and was its artistic director from 1977-81, and again from 1988-90.

Many of her dances, such as *Dancing in the Dark* and *Tango Victrola*, were done for this company.

"I started to study tango about 10 years ago," she says. "It's technically tricky because each of the sexes has different roles. This is a dance with a very particular shape."

"On the dance floor, the dancers always improvise, but you have to know the basic steps. Some of my dancers are superb at tango, and some in the contemporary idiom. They sort of meet in the middle."

She formed TDC in 1991. The company first appeared abroad at the Nantes Dance Festival in 1992.

Pure tango is enjoying a worldwide revival. Clubs have sprung up all over Europe, and Americans revel in its plaintive and sensuous rhythms.

"People like it," Stekelman observes. "We danced *Tangokinesis* in Paris for an audience of 6,000 people, and they weren't the people who usually go to dance concerts."

Tangokinesis is at the Gerard Behar Center from May 16-18.



'Tangokinesis,' a dance for four couples, explores the different shapes of modern dance.

No cowardly lion in this land of Oz

HELEN KAYE

DON'T go looking for the origins of Circus Oz's moniker in the movie about a certain wizard.

"Oz is slang for Australian," explains the circus's artistic director Sue Broadway in a phone conversation from her Melbourne office. "It also stands for things a bit nutty and eccentric."

That's a perfect description of the 15-year-old company, which is making its debut visit to the Israel Festival for a nine-day run starting May 16.

It's a contemporary circus, which in this case means no animals, rock music and lots of special effects, but it's all done without violence, abuse or even abusive language.

"We were very political when we started," says Broadway, 38, who speaks of a heavy commitment to peace, nuclear disarmament and a strong feminist slant. "We're less political [now] but still feminist. We want women to provide good role models, to celebrate women's capabilities."

"We're bringing a solo trapeze act, a chair-balancing act, a fire spectacular with all of us dressed up in tribal costumes, and our signature roof-walk," says Broadway, counting off some of the acts in the two-hour show.

Her association with Oz goes back to the beginning in 1978 "when we combined the two groups that were doing circus acts all around Melbourne." Once off the ground, Circus Oz quickly gained an international reputation, and performed at festivals all over the world.

It has traveled all over Australia, loading performers and equipment into four wheel drive vehi-

cles to negotiate the often rugged terrain. In 1988 Oz piled itself into a DC3 transport plane to bring the show to the aboriginal communities of Arnhem Land.

Broadway's circus skills must be genetic because grandfather Alf Broadway was a juggler and a magician with a traveling show, and Uncle John Broadway is a juggler "who taught me to juggle when I was little."

Born and brought up in Sydney, Broadway "forgot about circus when I was growing up. It was after I started again that I realized where my heart lay."

She started "for the fun of it" during her final year at university in Adelaide, where she was studying theater and classical dance. In just four months she'd perfected a daredevil aerial act.

"I only stopped performing 18 months ago when I became artistic director [of Circus Oz]. I'll perform again," she says cheerfully.

This is Broadway's third visit to Israel. The first was in 1990 when she and Ra Ra Zoo performed at the Timna National Park near Eilat. The following year she came to the Acre Festival with six Ra Ra Zoo performers, and "we developed a dance and circus show with local youngsters which we did about 20 times."

In 1983, to take a break after seven years of non-stop performing, Broadway went to the UK and worked in cabaret. But circus was too strong in her and in 1984 she created Ra Ra Zoo, a theater circus company that also traveled the international festival circuit.

"I'm still down as their director," she says, "and they keep calling me to ask when I'm coming back."

Daddy Depardieu: Just whose fantasy is this anyway?

FILM REVIEW

ADINA HOFFMAN

MY FATHER, THE HERO

Directed by Steve Miner. Based on the novel, *Mon Pere, Ce Heros* by Gerard Lauzier. Hebrew title: *Me Shev: Ehad Yosef, Ahdai, 500 olim...* English: *Dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance suggested.*

WITH his sunlamp tan, enormous pot belly and Inspector Clouseau accent, European superstar Gerard Depardieu reaches new heights of brash self-impersonation in his latest American movie, *My Father, the Hero*.

Appropriately enough, this slight romantic farce is a remake of a French original, *Mon Pere, Ce*

Heros, which also starred Depardieu.

It's not hard to understand a middle-aged actor's compulsion to repeat a successful part.

Depardieu, who sports what may be the most famous nose in all of Europe, could probably have revisited any one of his previous roles: Cyrano, Danton, Martin Guerre, Jean de Florette or the exuberant Neanderthal he played in *Bertrand Blier's 1974 'Going Places'.*

"So why?" of all these tempting possibilities "did the dynamic actor chosen to star in an English-language remake of the buffoonish part he played in *Mon Pere*?"

Identifying too closely with Columbus, perhaps, whom he played in the film *1492*, Depardieu is determined to discover America, or, more precisely, to help America discover him.

There must be a more dignified ocean route. As Andre, a divorced Parisian businessman vacationing on a tropical island with

his 14-year-old daughter Nicole (Katherine Heigl), Depardieu seems under contract to act out the most degrading bits of water-skiing, disco-dancing idiocy director Steve Miner can cook up.

The self-deprecating vaudeville only worsens in several unsavory scenes which require the portly actor to parade, gut first, in his voluminous boxer shorts. "That's gross!" Nicole sums it up most efficiently, rolling her eyes to the sky.

These slapstick/striptease antics appear designed to reveal a few heartwarming truths about the bonds between girls and their fathers.

In fact, what they really show is the film's strangely cruel code of paternal honor: If a father loves his daughter, he must be willing to look like a jerk for her.

It's (sort of) a sweet thought, but not necessarily the kind of sweet thought that an audience wants to witness in the - overweight, bear-chested - flesh.

Despite the willing humiliation of a fine actor who should have known better, the movie is not without a certain pubescent charm. Best appreciated as a study in soft-core Freud, *My Father, the Hero* is actually much kinder than it might appear at first glance.

The film is essentially one long-running gag about Nicole's brand-new sex appeal, and a little fib she tells to make a boy like her.

In order to impress Ben, a cute guy she's just met, Nicole informs him that Andre is (not her father but) her lover.

She concocts a preposterous criminal persona to accompany this story - dope addicts, jail breaks - and Ben falls for it, as does the rest of the island.

A girly coming-of-age fantasy about first kisses and shivery sundresses is one thing, and this is quite another.

The filmmakers try their hardest to play down the weird potential of the incestuous set-up, but



Gerard Depardieu appears as the buffoonish father of an adolescent.

(Richard Freeman)

dreamy 15-year-old Heigl undoes all their spic-and-span plans with one flash of her nymphet navel. She's a virgin sex-pot right off

the pages of *Seventeen* magazine: flawless skin, shiny hair, perfect tan, and a suitcase packed with skimpy bathing suits in all the colors of the rainbow. The young actress lends the movie the force of her own curvaceous innocence.

She's got the slinky moves down (high heels, low hodge, come-hither smile), without any sense of consequence, or what might happen once he's come hither.

As Nicole's little bluff plays itself out, the question that lingers is, of course, just whose fantasy this is that we're watching.

With Depardieu slurping daiquiris in his extra-large unbuttoned Hawaiian shirt, the film hardly recommends itself to the imaginings of a discerning post-high school female audience.

Which leaves the image of Nicole, her skirt floating up all around her in the breeze, the way Marilyn's would have, if she'd worn calico. And who do you think that's for?

Local artists hit the road to all corners of the globe

HELEN KAYE

Summer is a-coming in and like storks to Europe, off our performers go a-traveling.

The Bat Dor Dance Company leaves for a three-city, two-week cultural exchange tour of China on June 2 at the invitation of the China Performing Arts Agency.

They'll perform Ed Wubbe's *Schlager, Liberator* by Mauricio Wainroth and Gigi Caduleanu's *Cartoons* in Peking, Tianjin and Shanghai. This is the first visit by an Israeli dance company to China.

Starting in Finland and Denmark with Ohad Naharin's *Mabul*, the Bat Dor Dance Company will altogether tour five European festivals in June.

The company will open France's prestigious Montpellier Festival and the Barcelona Festival with Naharin's *Anaphase* and then it's off to Rome, where they open that city's festival with two more Naharin works, *Kyr* and *Arbos*.

By permission of the Cameri Theater, from June 2 to 14, the Tel Aviv Community Theater is taking an English-language production of *Shenidele* directed by Helen Eleasari to amateur drama festivals in Ireland and England.

This month, the Diabolo Street Theater takes itself off on May 11 to the Festival of Young Theater in Wrocław, Poland, and then, on September 23, the company will spend two weeks in Brazil at the Campinas International Festival of Theater.

Habimah's next stage

HELEN KAYE

STAGE 4 is a modest name for an ambitious project. Every month from November to March 1995, the Habimah National Theater will present a showcase production of a new play by an Israeli playwright.

The first two on a short list of 12 are *Malinki* by Robik Rosenthal centered around the 1956 massacre at Kafr Kasim, and *Loss*, a first play by Efi Cohen in which the death of a 19-year-old conscript is the basis for an exploration into loss of all kinds.

Although these are small-budget, limited-run productions that will be performed outside Habimah, they are not experimental, says artistic director Gari Bilu, but rather the end result of a workshop process that "helps ensure that what finally reaches the stage is theatrically mature."

New to Israel, such intensive play-making programs are common to regional theaters in the US and the UK. "We have to train a new generation of playwrights," Bilu declared of his long-cherished project. "There's been no really exciting new playwright in the last decade and, effectively, we're working with only three."

Other plays on the Stage 4 list are by such produced playwrights as Ira Dvir, Yotam Reuveni, Oren Ne'eman and Lital Porat.

Bilu defended his scheduling of only two local plays for in-house production in the 1994/95 repertory.

These are *Handsome Tony* written and directed by Yehoshua Sobol which Habimah will coproduce with the Jerusalem Khan, and *The Agnon Project*, two productions taken from the works of S.Y. Agnon adapted and directed by Yoram Falk. Also being considered is *Invitation to the Wedding*, a rewrite by Yosef Bar-Yosef of his *The Wedding*.

The rest of the list comes from world theater, classic and contemporary. Habimah will do 12 to 15 of the 19 plays listed for 1995 in addition to those scheduled to finish '94.

German director Hollek Freitag, making his third visit, will do the Israeli premiere of Friedrich

von Schiller's *The Robbers*. The UK's Toby Robertson will mount *King Lear* with Yossi Pollak in the title role.

Hanan Snir will direct Ostrovsky's *The Diary of a Scoundrel*, in-house director Roni Pinkowitz will do Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*, and *Someone to Watch Over Me* by Frank McGuinness will be directed by rising star Ido Riklin.

There's also a new approach to marketing and the Rovina and Meskin halls are getting much-needed overhauls. General manager David Alexander announced that Habimah is offering five types of seven-play subscription series priced from NIS 150 for students to a gilt-edged NIS 599 which entitles the holder to a seat at premieres and galas.

"We'll be operating 13 months a year," Alexander said, explaining that the theater is banishing the conventional October-July season to operate year-round. Subscribers will be able to hitch on at any time.

There were some 25,000 subscribers this season, a drop from 29,000 two years ago. However, with the introduction of a new 24-hour phone-in sales system combined with the allure of the new repertory, the target is 30,000.

When the Shelach Commission report on the status of theaters was published last June, Habimah was severely criticized for its management and fiscal procedures. Alexander has instituted the required reforms on both fronts, including forced vacations for staff members and the appointment of an all-new governing board.

The 1994 budget is NIS 29.8 million with NIS 17.2m. coming from the Public Arts Council, up from NIS 15.1m. last year. Subsidies are 57% of the budget. The theater must earn the rest.

According to Alexander, Habimah had an NIS 500,000 operating surplus in 1993 but this has disappeared into the maw of the theater's approximately NIS 17m. accumulated deficit. Negotiations are under way with the banks and the government for a rescheduling of payments.

Dance of death rises up from Brazil slums

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

BATTLE and ballet. They may seem to contradict, but they're two of the ingredients in the unique style of the Bahia (Castro Alves) Theater Ballet.

The Brazilian company, founded 13 years ago by Antonio Carlos Cardoso, performs modern dance with classical foundations and strong folk roots.

It will make its local debut next week in Tel Aviv.

The Bahia dance tradition is essentially a mixture of "popular dances and religious dances as well as a special combination of dance and combat," explains Cardoso in a phone conversation from his home.

"This latter style is a remnant of the time when the black population of Bahia had to fight white invaders. The blacks were preparing to fight but they did it through a very powerful dance routine, so no one realized they were actually getting ready to face the enemy."

Although the company tours extensively worldwide it sees education as part of its function. It presents many outdoor performances in the poorest sections of the eastern state of Bahia, and its

capital Salvador, so that the entire population will be able to enjoy its work. And three years ago the company established a ballet course for beginners.

"Most of the students came from the outskirts of Salvador, from areas where the black population is the majority," said Cardoso, who has danced in Europe and taught worldwide.

Today most dancers in the company are from Bahia itself, although there are some from other parts of Brazil.

"We have a very specific folk dance tradition here," Cardoso explains in heavily accented English. "Here the Afro culture is very strong and you find it only here and in no other place in Brazil." Indeed the company, which comprises 12 men and 12 women, is very popular in Bahia itself, Cardoso says.

Here, the company will perform two rather different works. Guilherme Botelho's *Do Not Go Gently* "is that rarest dance commodity: a political statement with universal implications," says Car-

doso. It is danced to music by contemporary Russian composer Alfred Schnittke.

The second piece, Luis Arrieta's *Suncus*, "is a prayer from the body. It's like a prayer, the choreography is like a Catholic mass; it's really very special to us."

Cardoso elaborates that the music which accompanies *Suncus* "is very special. The composer recorded most of it in the Moslem countries of black Africa and a lot of the music is very African. The dance work is exactly like an African *Suncus*."

After leading the company for two years when it was created, Cardoso took a few years off to pursue his career before returning to Bahia in 1987 for an additional two-year spell as artistic director. And in 1993, he returned to the company yet again.

"There have been lots of changes since we began. The technique and experience have strengthened a lot. In the beginning some dancers were completely without technique. Then the interest was not just in technique

but actually to find out what they can do as people. After all this was the first ever professional dance company here in Bahia."

But while the beginnings were quite experimental and no one grasped which direction the company would move in, things have changed as the company found its own artistic niche. "As we developed more and more new dancers joined and the company became more solid."

The ballet performs next Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv as part of the Classic Eden Days festival.

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Never-ending story

As night follows day, reports on Arab League meetings invariably begin: "The Arab League met but failed to agree..." And so it is with the war in Yemen - a purely Arab crisis if ever there was one, with few international ramifications beyond the evacuation of foreign residents.

Delegates of the 21-member organization met at the request of Egypt, which has itself been trying to mediate in the escalating conflict between forces loyal to President Ali Abdullah Saleh and those of his vice president, Ali Salem al-Beidh. In the event, all the league could do was kill speculation that an Arab peacekeeping force might be raised, and reaffirm an old resolution approving the unity of Yemen.

The league's paralysis is of course legendary, especially after its failure to respond swiftly to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. However, to be fair to the organization, Yemen poses a dilemma for any outside mediators. President Saleh has made it clear he strongly rejects any mediation, Arab or otherwise. "What is happening is a purely domestic affair," he said, and added any attempt to circumvent this policy would be gross interference.

It is clear that Saleh is determined to crush the south of Yemen as swiftly as possible. But as the somewhat weaker side, the south will aim to fight a defensive war and drag it out for as long as possible. Saleh should logically be able to count on conservative Arab opinion in his favor, but he enraged his neighbors by supporting Saddam Hussein in the Gulf War. He has been trying to overcome this by por-

traying the south as an unreformed hotbed of Marxism with totalitarian aims. Vice-President Ali Salem al-Beidh's Yemen Socialist Party did indeed rule the south until the 1990 merger between north and south and continues to be the dominant force in Aden.

Yet Saleh is having no success in persuading Gulf Arabs that he is fighting for free-market democracy, especially amid reports that Iraqi pilots are flying some of his combat aircraft. The Gulf Arabs are understandably unforgiving of his treachery during the occupation of their cousin Kuwait. The indirect war aid which is now said by diplomats to be pouring into Aden from the Gulf will undoubtedly complicate Saleh's dreams of a swift victory.

As far as the opinions of the people of Yemen can be sampled, they seem fairly unanimous in supporting the continued unity of the country and seem to regard the war as a personal clash between their rival leaders. For that reason, a quick end to the war by a northern victory would seem to be the most desirable outcome - if only to save lives.

It may prove to be a forlorn hope. As one commentator noted, almost every form of division imaginable exists in Yemen - tribal, religious, economic, political, personal. The country has spawned more internal wars than even the least developed African states. Apart from the anti-colonial war that began in 1964 and ousted Britain in 1967, conflicts have ravaged Yemen in 1962, 1967, 1970, 1972, 1979, and 1986. In the light of such a recent history, Saleh's idea that this is the war to end all Yemenite wars seems far-fetched indeed.

Prejudice and Effi Fein

It is ironic that Meretz ministers have renewed their pursuit of Effi Fein, one of the army's most distinguished officers, at the very time convicted murderers are entering Gaza and Jericho as uniformed police officers.

Fein, newly promoted to brigadier-general, was accused by some Meretz leaders of giving illegal orders when he commanded the Givati Brigade. At the time, the very first months of the intifada, the brigade sought to tackle phenomena with which the army was ill-equipped to deal.

After four years of investigation Fein was neither charged, tried nor found guilty of anything. Despite the considerable political pressure by such prominent MKs as Yossi Sarid, Dedi Zucker and Yair Tsaban, the Judge Advocate-General could do no more than administer a caution and recommend that the chief of the general staff carefully weigh any further promotion for Fein.

That was one-and-a-half years ago. Fein's career has effectively been in limbo for more than five years. Punishment enough, the chief

of general staff seems to have decided, for a crime for which he was never charged, let alone tried or convicted.

Fein could have taken his pension and retired. But he has given the best years of his life to the army. He was decorated for outstanding bravery in the Yom Kippur War after he and three others held off an entire Syrian tank brigade in the Golan. He commanded the Golani commando unit in the Entebbe raid. He chose to take his chances and remain in military service.

In democracies people are innocent until proven otherwise. As it was, the entire case against Fein was built on anonymous hearsay that a judge would have thrown out of court in an instant. At no point did Fein turn on his superiors, up to Yitzhak Rabin, who gave the order to break bones. One cannot avoid the suspicion that the motives of those who now protest his long-delayed promotion have more to do with political prejudice - Effi Fein is religious and lives in the Golan - than with true concern about his conduct.



Heads in the sand, guys

A.M. ROSENTHAL

PRIME Minister Yitzhak Rabin has something important in common with Saddam Hussein and Bill Clinton.

Saddam Hussein did not tell the Iraqi people when he invaded Kuwait that there was a chance they would be pounded into military defeat.

When Bill Clinton ordered American bombers to take part in the Bosnian war, he did not say there was a chance that bombing could spread the war further.

And Yitzhak Rabin, making concessions to bring peace with the Palestinians and Syria, has not told Israelis of the evidence that Arab public opinion is not ready for that peace, and favors immediate military confrontation as the alternative.

It's an old story. When national leaders, democratic or dictatorial, take a major step that involves big risk and big opportunity, they emphasize the opportunities and slide over - or just skip - talk about risk.

In a recent column, I wrote that Arab governments were still spewing out anti-Israel propaganda, and that Arab nations had taken none of the obvious steps to show their people that the unholy war was over.

Coincidentally, the day the column was printed, I received a study that provided startling supporting statistics.

The study was carried out not by an Israeli, but by Hilar Khashan, associate professor of political science at the American University of Beirut.

The article, printed by the new *Middle East Quarterly*, is called "Are the Arabs ready for peace with Israel?" His answer is a sad no - the result of a poll he carried out among 1,000 Moslem Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians in Beirut on the eve of the first Israel-PLO agreement on September 13, 1993.

"What are the alternatives to peace talks?" was one question. Of the two-thirds who replied, 75 percent favored "immediate military confrontation with Israel." The remaining one-fourth wanted to maintain the present situation - no peace, no war.

Rabin's government is deluding itself over what the Arabs think

The conclusion of the analysis was that those who did support negotiations saw them merely as a truce before another military confrontation.

The study blames Arab leadership for the fact that Arab people show little understanding of peace with Israel or its benefits, and see it as a surrender.

Since the early 1920s, Prof. Khashan writes, the Arab elite has conditioned Arab populations to suspect Jews, hate Zionists and seek the destruction of Israel.

And when Arab leaders chose to seek peace, he says, they did not prepare their people for what it meant, but followed a policy of "peace by stealth" - one step forward, two steps back, underestimating the implications of peace.

THE RABIN government is so convinced that a formal peace is in the best interests of Israel, that it has changed the military strategy that for decades rested on control

of the West Bank and the Golan. As part of its negotiating tactics, Israel is playing down the refusal of Arab governments to revoke the very actions that helped create and sustain hatred and war against Israel. Among them are: the global hate sewer, the world boycott, *untermenschen* barriers against Jewish travelers and the Arab conventions calling for the death of Israel.

When many members of the US Congress wanted to push for an end of the embargo now, the Israelis touted them off. Then Israel docilely accepted a UN resolution condemning murders committed by one private person - the Hebron killer. This had never been done at the UN. They did not urge the US to veto a paragraph treating Jerusalem as occupied territory.

When Palestinians refused to revoke their death oaths, Israel acted unconcerned. When the Arab League refused to end the embargo, Israel talks about the exceptions Arabs graciously grant from time to time.

The Rabin government will probably achieve the agreements it seeks. Land on credit and the coming Palestinian independence are a good starting point for the Arabs. But in the process, his government is making the error of other Israeli governments: deluding itself about what the Arabs think, and the consequences.

If Israel now does not seem to care much about how the Arab people are fed with hatred, or that so many see peace with Israel as a prelude to war with Israel, why should any other government bother itself - now that the papers are signed?

The writer is a columnist and former executive editor of The New York Times. (By arrangement with The New York Times)

Trump cards

ELIYAHU TAL

It is with mixed feelings of pride and concern that we celebrate the 27th Jerusalem Day today. Pride in the bravery of our soldiers who liberated the city in 1967; grave concern over the weakening of our position on Jerusalem in the political arena.

Attaching the highest priority to the peace process itself, our government had to give in and "swallow" the UN Security Council resolution of March 18, 1994, which declared eastern Jerusalem "occupied Palestinian territory." That was the first breach in the wall of a united Jerusalem.

But our complacency in explaining our position on this crucial issue cannot be justified, particularly in view of the surprising success Arab propaganda has scored in the past year.

Most worrying is the lack of a broad-based campaign combining a defined strategy and adequate funds. The amount spent last year on an operative information campaign for Jerusalem equals that of one commercial enterprise in Israel. A sad joke.

The battle for Jerusalem is a battle of words, not swords; of myths, not of missiles. And modern propaganda - as sophisticated weaponry - costs a lot of money.

The battle for Jerusalem is a battle of words, not swords; of myths, not missiles

We have to bear in mind that this is a campaign on a global scale. Because the issue of Jerusalem will not be decided by Jerusalem and Washington. The Moslem world, the Vatican and other powers will have their say when this highly volatile issue comes up on the international agenda. And on many aspects, their voice will be far from friendly.

It has now been finally decided that Jerusalem will be put on the negotiating table in two years' time. So we have a brief time-out in which to prepare the groundwork to meet this crucial challenge.

FIRST, We have to dispel some deeply rooted misconceptions, which we encouraged partly out of naivete, thus playing into the hands of our adversaries:

• Establishing, in all our publications, the Dome of the Rock as the symbol of the city, its "Eiffel Tower."

• Defining Jerusalem, in one breath, as holy to the three faiths. This is a dangerous equation which places Arab claims on the same level as ours.

• Naming the city a pilgrimage center for Jews, Christians and Moslems (see the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Encyclopaedia Judaica*). It isn't true. Haj (pilgrimage) is not prescribed by Islam to al-Kuds (Jerusalem). For the past 600 years, there has been hardly any Moslem pilgrimage to the city. Today, out of Egypt's 50 million Moslems, none comes to pray at al-Aksa, open borders and cheap fares notwithstanding.

• Accepting the misnomer "East Jerusalem." This actually stretches from Atarot Airport in the north to Gilo in the south, covering more than half of the city's total area. It is far larger than the walled city which the BBC has already "ceded" to the Palestinians by calling it "Arab Jerusalem" in all its reports.

We have trump cards to reinforce our rights. Why don't we play them?

• Politically: The Arabs never declared Jerusalem the capital of the country, not even King Hussein, who ruled it between 1949 and 1967.

• Demographically: It had a Jewish ethnic majority as early as 1820. We are not "newcomers," as the Palestinians claim. Our aliyah to Jerusalem did not start in the 19th century. A milestone is the arrival of 300 rabbis from Britain and France in 1212, and aliyah continued since then.

• Religiously: It is superfluous to underline Jerusalem's centrality in the Jewish heritage. Jews always pray facing Jerusalem. Moslems pray at the Temple Mount facing Mecca, with their backs to al-Aksa.

And it is worth noting that Jerusalem is mentioned 637 times in the Hebrew Bible, 154 times in the New Testament, but not a single time in the Koran.

Once the Palestinians are settled in Jericho, they will set their political sights on Jerusalem. But whereas in Jericho the dispute is over each kilometer, in the crucial battle for Jerusalem it will be over each centimeter.

Fervent declarations about our "Eternal Capital" will not shift world opinion. They are no more than lip service to the cause of Jerusalem.

The writer is chairman of the International Forum for a United Jerusalem.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

INDEPENDENCE DAY

IN CHINA

Sir, - I was in Beijing on Independence Day and received an invitation for the reception organized by the Israel Embassy at the Sheraton Hotel. Among the 300 guests, Chinese, Israelis and others, there were some 20 religious Jews from Israel or the US. I was disturbed to learn that all the food was *treif*. For people eating kosher, nothing had been prepared. Oh, yes, the wine was kosher, but served by non-Jews.

When Chinese officials asked me why I was not eating, I told them that I was not hungry. I felt ashamed to tell the truth. I am certain that El Al could have provided some kind of kosher food for those observing *kashrut*.

DAVID VAN GELDER
Netanya.

CAN OF WORMS

Sir, - Israel has opened up a disastrous can of worms. The problems inherent in allowing soldiers from Denmark, Norway and Italy to be present in Hebron means that these UN forces will be subject to Islamic terror.

Who will defend these men? Will the Israeli soldiers have to patrol and watch over each and every member of the UN contingent? Will the UN send troops, if, perish the thought, there is Islamic rioting or abduction of their forces? Will these troops have power to fire at will? When members of the UN forces are subject to Islamic terrorist actions, will the UN be able to overcome the Arab votes which will be necessary to help out these men?

It seems apparent that in its zeal to placate Arafat and the PLO, Israel has decided that, no matter what the cost to itself, the presence of troops from three heretofore friendly nations - Denmark, Norway and Italy - can be sacrificed on Arafat's behalf.

TOBY WILLIG
Forest Hills, N.Y.

ANTISEMITISM ON INTERNET

Sir, - As a long-time user of Internet, the Reuter article of April 12, "Neo-Nazi propaganda loaded into Internet," commanded my immediate attention. Alas, the article, discounting technical inaccuracies, failed to fully describe what is happening on Internet, an international network of computer networks. Antisemitic material is not a new phenomenon to Internet. Today, the only difference is the volume and blatantly open manner of distribution. Within the past few months, I have seen messages calling for the reopening of death camps from individuals in England to the state of Oregon in America. The messages come not only from neo-Nazis, but also from organizations such as the Nation of Islam and other fundamentalist Islamic organizations.

As a result of this change, the Jerusalem Institute of Biblical Polemics started a program that actively monitors what is happening in the world of electronic communications. For example, we have collected a great deal of information about Fred Leuchter, who is a

Nazi revisionist mentioned in the article. What the article did not mention is that Mr. Leuchter, until recently, owned a business specializing in the installation of execution chambers for various state governments. This business provided Mr. Leuchter with the necessary "credentials" needed to make his blasphemous statements. Mr. Leuchter spread his material not only on Internet, but on several BBSs (Bulletin Board Systems) in the US. Attempts to close his accounts have been frustrated by system administrators who, to avoid any legal confrontation, hide behind the freedom-of-speech amendment.

In closing, everyone should understand that antisemitism has not disappeared; it has only taken on a different set of clothing.

ISRAEL SILVERBERG,
Coordinator, Anti-Missionary Task Force,
Jerusalem Institute of Biblical Polemics
Jerusalem.

CORRECT ENGLISH

Sir, - I refer to your article of April 3, "Close the TV and get some real sleep." Have you ever tried to teach English to an Israeli? How many times do you think the average Israeli has to repeat "turn off" (or "switch off" if you are British) the radio or the television before he stops saying incorrectly "close the television"? Dozens of times, and then there's no guarantee he won't revert to the incorrect

I like to recommend that my adult learners of English read articles from *The Jerusalem Post* - but sometimes I have my doubts. In my opinion, Judy Siegel-Izkovitch deserves a better headline writer and you owe your readers an apology.

SHARYN WEIZMAN
Herzliya.

TERRORISM PAYS

Sir, - Let's face it, terrorism pays. In fact, terrorism is probably the most cost-effective way to wage war. Terrorism doesn't need billions for planes, tanks or warships. Just stones, knives and axes will do fine, especially when targeting a government that is perceived to be weak, dovish and predisposed to consider even the most outrageous terrorist demands, like releasing convicted murderers back into our midst.

It used to be axiomatic in Israel that dealing with terrorists would only lead to more demands and more terror. Now we find ourselves in the hands of a minority government that is trapped in self-destruct negotiations with the mother of all terrorist organizations, but under the guise of something called the peace process.

JACK CARLIN
Jerusalem.

Process in search of supporters

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

It's no secret that the Palestinian leadership from East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza Strip is in crisis. For once, however, Israel can't be blamed.

The Palestinians came to the Madrid Conference within the framework of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. The Palestinian representatives were personalities from the territories, though none were residents of Jerusalem.

While it was common knowledge that they were in direct and constant contact with the PLO in Tunis, receiving their instructions from it, the Likud government pretended otherwise.

When Yitzhak Rabin became prime minister in July 1992, he didn't agree to any change in the basic makeup of the Palestinian delegation. However, the pretense of there being no separate Palestinian delegation was done away with, and Israel acknowledged the communication between the Palestinian delegation and PLO/Tunis.

Rabin didn't hide his hope that, as the talks progressed and autonomy was set up in the territories, a power struggle would develop between Tunis and the local leaders, and that the latter - whom he regarded as more pragmatic than "the Tunis gang" - would emerge victorious.

However, even though the PLO in Tunis grew increasingly weak, the local leadership showed no inclination to loosen its grip on them and in March 1993, Rabin decided to try and bolster the Palestinian delegation by enabling Faisal Husseini (a Jerusalemite) to join its negotiating team as an adviser.

But apart from causing the delegation's original head - Dr. Haider Abdel Shaif of Gaza - to boycott subsequent meetings in Washington, the move had no concrete effect. The Palestinian delegation continued to demonstrate total dependence on Tunis.

By the time local Palestinian leaders started complaining openly about Tunis not involving them in

the decision-making process and threatened to resign (last July), it was too late. The back-channel talks in Oslo between Israel and the PLO were making serious progress, and local leaders no longer stood a chance. They were left to sulk as the Declaration of Principles took shape.

Local Palestinian leaders had better stop sulking and start helping the peace experiment succeed

They didn't like the agreement signed in Washington on September 13 because it dealt with the Gaza Strip and Jericho only; they weren't included in the detailed technical talks which followed the signing of the agreement, though lower-ranking local personalities were involved.

So they demonstratively stayed away from the signing ceremony in Cairo on May 4.

THESE PRAGMATIC men and women played a vital role in persuading the PLO to agree to Palestinian participation at Madrid, despite the humiliating conditions, and thus got the ball rolling. Unless they are all planning to vanish from the political scene, they will very soon have to come to terms with the new reality and find their place in it.

The PLO will certainly need their services to get a real grip on the administration of the territories under their control - a very difficult task.

In addition, autonomy talks re-

garding the rest of the West Bank will soon begin, and the PLO will need all the forces - especially local ones - it can muster for this complex task.

Local Palestinian leaders, for their part, must stop sulking and pretending that they could have got a better agreement. Some of them are starting to sound like Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu, who would have us believe that had his men been running the negotiations, the Palestinians would have ended up agreeing to an autonomy plan on the Likud's terms.

Faisal Husseini knows as well as Yasser Arafat that the issue of Jerusalem cannot begin being tackled in earnest before autonomy is successfully established in the whole of the West Bank and Gaza Strip; also that Israel won't lift the closure which effectively separates East Jerusalem from the administered territories until the Palestinians start putting an effective brake on their own rejectionists. And yet he whines on about Jerusalem.

Dr. Sa'eb Erakat knows as well as Arafat that all Israel would agree to as a first step was "Gaza and Jericho First," and that only if the experiment works will there be a second step.

And yet, instead of joining the effort to make the experiment work, several days ago he announced his decision to resign from political life because "the new Palestinian rule resembles that of Gen. Antoine Lahad in Southern Lebanon." As a professor of political science, he must know that the comparison is totally invalid.

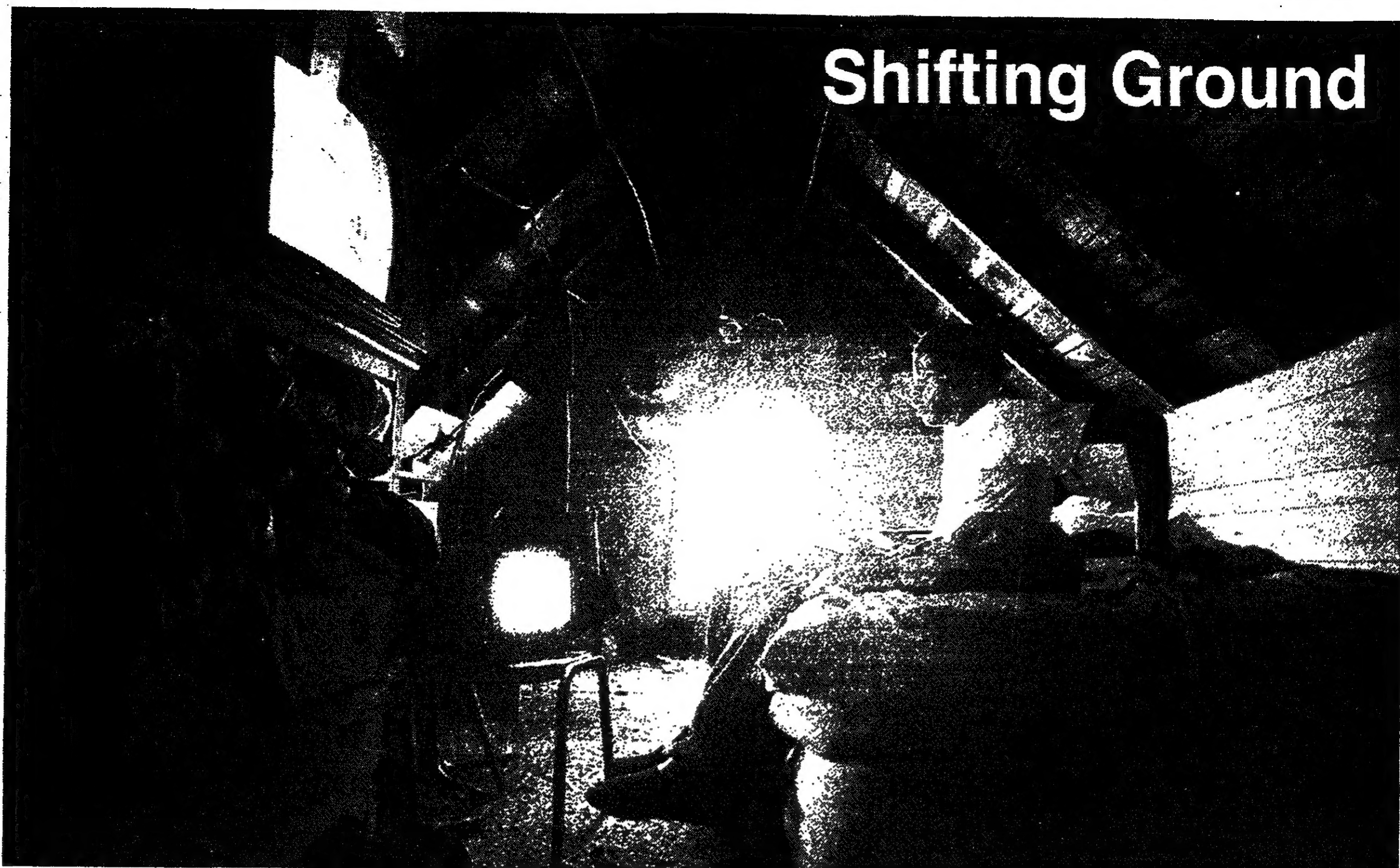
Why is it important that men like Husseini and Erakat remain active? For the simple reason that they are both men of stature, who are in favor of a peace agreement with Israel based on coexistence. In the current situation, the process needs all the support it can get - especially on the Palestinian side.

The writer is editor of the Labor movement monthly, *Spectrum*.

Jerusalem Post
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Shifting Ground



Does welfare provide an essential safety net or foster dependence? Here, one of 11 children of parents on welfare watches television at home in East St. Louis, Ill.

In Welfare Debate, It's Now Not 'How?' but 'Why?'

By JASON DEPARDE

WASHINGTON
It is a potent promise, this often-repeated vow of President Clinton's to "end welfare as we know it." And it may have unleashed forces that Mr. Clinton did not envision and cannot control.
Propelled by social distress and political opportunism, the welfare debate is now moving further and faster than anyone predicted as recently as six months ago.
While it is doubtful that Congress will act before the November elections, there is more than one legislative season involved. When the dust settles, whether next year or five years beyond, the country could very well see a substantially smaller safety net beneath the 10 million indigent children who rely on Federal aid.
"You let loose a lot of forces when you say, 'End welfare as we know it,' which is why I never said any such thing," said Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the New York Democrat who is the Capitol's senior author-

How a campaign slogan made the unthinkable respectable.

ity on welfare politics. "We may look back and say, 'What in the name of God have we done?'"
A decade ago, abolishing cash aid to indigent mothers was such a radical idea that even its intellectual godfather, the social theorist Charles Murray, would tout it only as a "thought experiment." Ten days ago, a visitor to the Capitol could have witnessed a dozen Republicans standing on the lawn to advocate a variation on the theme, proposing to deny cash to mothers under 21.
And what of their children? "Send them to orphan-

ages if necessary," is the most common response. It was offered by the bill's proponents, with no more trepidation than if the discussion had been on potato policy or roads.
While Mr. Clinton himself has nothing so severe in mind, the siren of radical change sounds weekly, in Congress, research outfits and the studios of talk radio. It is alluring even to people like Representative Marge Roukema of New Jersey, a self-styled moderate who confessed last week, "I've been startled by my own reaction, and the fact that I'm questioning the value of some of these programs."
Ms. Roukema, a Republican who has worked on welfare issues for a decade, stopped short of embracing the calls to end cash aid to young mothers. But she cited her willingness to consider them as evidence that "people are more open to admitting that the problem seems to be out of control."
It takes more than six words of Presidential oratory to produce an appetite for radical change. The record size and cost of the welfare rolls is a factor. So is the ratio of out-of-wedlock births: a full 30 percent of American

children are now born to single mothers. And so do the burdens borne by millions of working mothers, who have less and less sympathy for letting poor women stay at home.
The momentum for change is also quickened by the genuine despair of the central cities, which welfare may not have caused but certainly does not cure. The current system has no defenders, only varying degrees of critics, the most extreme of whom argue that nothing could be worse than the world that now exists.
Still, Mr. Clinton's own role has been central, in a Nixon-to-China kind of way. When the nation's most powerful Democrat says, "End welfare," most listeners forget the "as we know it" hedge, the addenda promising child care and training. Mr. Clinton's oratory (and subsequent inaction) has created a void, which both friends and foes have rushed to fill.
"His emphasis in the campaign put the issue on the front burner," said Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts.

Continued on page 2

The War Still Unsettles The Winners Of the Peace

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

BONN
CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL, who says he's content to be left out of the 50th anniversary commemoration of the Allied landings in Normandy on June 6, finds it unfathomable that nobody believes him.
"Quite frankly, I really do not understand what people are talking about," the German leader said in London recently. "At no point did I seek to get invited to the commemorations for D-Day. Had I been invited, I would not have attended."
But the truth is that having lost the war, most Germans believe they are entitled to be recognized among the winners of the half-century of peace that followed. Many cannot understand why "the grace of late birth," as Mr. Kohl often describes it, does not absolve later generations of Germans of some historical responsibility for the uniquely evil acts committed in their country's name between 1933 and 1945.
Anniversaries and ceremonies can be painful reminders of the ambiguities and paradoxes of history, which often did not happen quite the way governments and politicians prefer to have it remembered. This year is particularly full of uncomfortable milestones, all of them having to do in one way or another with World War II. Because of the Holocaust, that war has a uniquely moral dimension that dwarfs all the previous centuries of European conflicts and still casts a shadow over Germany, and to a lesser extent Italy.
Today is celebrated in France as Victory Day and elsewhere as Victory in Europe Day; in Russia, veterans wear their medals and ribbons on May 9. Here in Germany May 8 is usually passed over in silence, though this year it happens to be Mother's Day. That the French make more of the day is only logical, especially considering their humiliation at Germany's hands in 1940. But their claim to self-liberation is also partly myth-making, de Gaulle's way of restoring national honor after the disgrace of collaboration by



Western Allied troops posed for a farewell portrait at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin last month.

Europe is embarking on a season of painful remembrances.

the Vichy regime during the war.
The tension between the myth of self-liberation and the realities of both resistance and collaboration in France continues to this day, as the profound ambiguity of the treatment of Paul Touvier shows. Now 79, he was found guilty last month of a crime against humanity as a Vichy police official in 1944, when he ordered a retaliatory execution of seven Jews. Yet he was given a Presidential pardon in 1971, and was hidden by French church authorities for decades. His trial reopened painful fissures dating from the war.
In Italy, the anniversary of Mussolini's death in

April 1945 was marked at his grave by neo-fascist salutes and protests. Hundreds of thousands of other Italians are deeply upset by the current political resurgence of the neo-fascists, who last month entered the new Government, and these people marked the end of the war in Italy (April 25) differently, as the 49th anniversary of liberation from fascism.
But liberation, if you are Italian or German, is a matter of perspective. Was Berlin "liberated" by Soviet troops in 1945? The Russians see it that way; many Germans who were forced to live under Communism for the next 45 years don't, a fact that has caused considerable awkwardness about how to mark the formal departure of American, French, British and Russian troops from Berlin this summer.
The Western allies kept West Berlin alive during Stalin's blockade in 1948 and 1949, and many Berliners, not just those in the west, feel gratitude to the Atlantic allies for the liberty that all Germans now enjoy. Eberhard Diepgen, Mayor of a now-united Berlin, wanted to say thank you with a military parade when

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The Boss Is Watching
No smoking! No



drinking! No
flirting! Watch
the cholesterol!

By Peter T. Kilborn

2

Winner Take All
The improving economy
would help the average
person, if only such a
person existed.

By Peter Passell

2

Israel and the P.L.O.
Strange but true: For
bitter enemies no less
than for lovers, breaking
up is hard to do.

By Clyde Haberman

4

The Nation

The Boss Only Wants What's Best for You

By PETER T. KILBORN

BIG BROTHER, circa 1994, is more likely the boss than the Government, and he is watching both you and your bodily fluids. With blood, urine and psychological tests, with video cameras, computers and telephone taps, employers today can drive bulldozers through the walls of their workers' private lives.

In hiring and managing employees, worker advocates say more and more employers exceed the limits. "These companies think everything an employee does is their business, just for giving them a paycheck," said Lewis L. Maltby, head of workplace law for the American Civil Liberties Union. "Some are trying to hold down their health-care costs. Some are trying to use the power of the paycheck to force their moral and religious views down your throat."

Paul Grossman, head of the 100-member employment law department of Paul, Hastings, Janofsky & Walker in Los Angeles, said most of his clients ignore workers' conduct off the job. "Most believe in testing to avoid hiring recent users of illegal drugs," he said, "and most believe in testing when they have a reasonable suspicion of drug or alcohol abuse, especially in safety-sensitive jobs." But he acknowledged a division among employers over other forms of intrusion like random, unannounced testing.

While employers use these methods on unassailable grounds — to spot lying and stealing — some also use them to pick up medical conditions that the workers might think are between them and their doctors and to discover which workers date colleagues, are gay or smoke or drink alcohol during off-duty hours. In the face of ever more sophisticated means of prying, many workplaces have become entangled in conflicts over

workers' right to privacy and industry's desire for profits and high productivity.

The issue popped up again last month when a Lockheed plant in Georgia and Kaiser Permanente medical facilities around Sacramento said they would deny jobs to smokers. How they enforce the ban remains to be seen, but they do not have to peek into workers' homes. A company in Wabash, Ind., fired a woman after traces of nicotine showed up in her urine.

Employer involvement in workers' personal lives goes back to the birth of industry. In the 19th century coal mines and steel mills imported Irish and German immi-

grants, put them in company housing, saw them off to church and taught them American mores.

Upon opening the country's first moving assembly line 80 years ago, Henry Ford issued a booklet, "Helpful Hints and Advice to Employees," warning against drinking, gambling, borrowing money, taking in boarders and poor hygiene. It advised workers to "use plenty of soap and water in the home and upon their children, bathing frequently." Mr. Ford also created a department of 100 investigators for door-to-door checks.

More recently, I.B.M. required its once almost entirely male white-collar staff to wear white shirts and ties and to reside in neighborhoods with colleagues of similar rank. On occasion I.B.M. has gone too far. In California, whose state constitution is one of few that expressly protects individuals' privacy, I.B.M. lost a suit over firing a woman employee for persisting in dating a former colleague who had joined a competitor.

The rights to hire, fire and make an honest profit are enshrined in American tradition. But so is the right to privacy. Justice Louis D. Brandeis called it the "right to be let alone — the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men."

But the Constitution does not explicitly protect privacy; courts have created existing legal concepts of privacy primarily to safeguard citizens from prying by the Government, not employers. Federal protection is limited mostly to barring employers from using lie detectors and to civil rights laws that bar discrimination because of race, religion, sex, age, national origin and disability. This year, Congress is weighing one more protection, legislation to bar secret monitoring of workers' electronic and voice mail and office telephone chats.

Twenty-nine states protect lawful behavior off the job, like smoking and drinking. Other state laws, such as those protecting human rights, have been invoked in defense of worker privacy. Labor-management contracts help insulate the 15 percent of all workers who belong to unions from scrutiny of off-duty conduct, and require that management establish a just, work-related cause for a dismissal.

But most jobs are governed by the doctrine of "employment at will," which enables employers to fire workers. The cause can be anything from abusing cocaine to flirting in the parking lot. Employers can use any legal means to spot infractions, from taping a worker driving home to examining a strand of hair from the desk for evidence of drug use weeks earlier.

Advocates of workers' rights have little argument with some forms of intrusion. Banks can examine the

police records of applicants for teller jobs to bar convicted embezzlers. Government-mandated scrutiny of off-the-job drug or alcohol abuse by airline pilots and interstate truckers is widely accepted because the public's right to safety supersedes the individual's right to an otherwise legal martini.

Judging Performance

But these days employers also have to worry about the costs arising from injury and illness since they pay around \$4,000 a year for a worker's health insurance. Chronic medical conditions, and personal habits like eating cholesterol-soaked food, smoking, heavy drinking or indulging in limb-risking leisure activities can push the bill far higher.

The soaring cost of sexual harassment suits also contributes to employer vigilance. To discourage both disruptions that can occur from workplace romances and broken liaisons, and to prevent supervisors of one sex from soliciting favors of subordinates of the other, some employers rule out all fraternization.

Wal-Mart, which prides itself on an image of clean living, is now embroiled in a case over two co-workers in Upstate New York who were dating. It fired them saying their dating conflicted with its belief, as expressed in the employee handbook, in the "family unit." The woman, though separated, was married.

Rather than look into people's private lives, said Craig M. Cornish, an attorney in Colorado Springs and an expert on workplace privacy, employers should simply monitor their workers' work. Poor work, whether caused by drugs, fatigue, illness or fraternization, can be grounds for discipline or intervention. "We ought to be focusing on the performance of employees," he said, "and stop making predictions based on something they're doing off duty."



'Winner-Take-All' Economics

Life's Hard? Blame the Market

By PETER PASSELL

IN the 1970's, inflation outran wages, and you blamed Jimmy Carter and the Arabs. In the 1980's, Wall Street hustlers dined on beluga while the Department of Agriculture declared ketchup a vegetable, and you blamed Ronald Reagan and Michael Milken. Then came the recession, the first to take a whack at white-collar jobs, and you blamed George Bush and the Japanese.

Now the recession is over, the Democrat in the White House says he feels your pain — and yet you're worried as ever about paying the bills. In fact, the corporate downsizing that began in the 1980's seems to be gaining momentum, leaving even privileged Americans to ponder a future life in the slow lane. Who's left to blame?

The better question, argues Frank Levy, an economist at M.I.T., is not who, but what. And the best answer is free markets — more specifically, the way markets divide the economic pie. "Rising productivity means rising living standards on average," notes Mr. Levy. "But these days, hardly anyone is average." Indeed, the collapse in prospects for unskilled workers and the emergence of what Robert Frank of Cornell and Philip Cook of Duke University have dubbed winner-take-all economics has strained the collective faith in the justice of markets.

Part of the confusion over what constitutes economic fairness stems from the American genius for living with contradiction. According to the Horatio Alger definition, fairness is equality of opportunity, the idea that the prizes should go to the fleet as long as everyone starts at the same place. But people also like to believe that return should be related to virtue — that the reward for teaching school or inventing a new drug should be roughly proportional to its social value. Still another standard would measure economic justice by the treatment of those at the bottom.

Americans long managed to ignore these apparent contradictions. In the 1950's and 1960's prosperity marched in lockstep with diminishing inequality. And while these decades were apparently exceptions, most of the decades that preceded the golden postwar era were not so bad, either. The gap between rich and poor often widened in periods of rapid growth, but almost everyone gained while some even managed to grab the brass ring.

America's luck seems to have run out in the mid-1970's, and with it the luxury of assuming that capitalism's natural face was benign. As almost everybody has since ac-

knowledgeed, the economy has created millions of losers — unskilled workers, younger workers, children in single-parent households — and put the striving middle-class on a strict regime of two often-insecure jobs per family. What is not resolved, however, is what could or should be done about it.

It's easy enough to explain the plight of the unskilled. Economists will be busy for years apportioning the blame among technology, competition from women, freer trade, deregulation, de-unionization, immigration and changing attitudes toward work.

Economies of Scale

The hard part is explaining why the incomes of workers with nominally equal qualifications have diverged so sharply. This phenomenon is most evident at the superstar level, with the near-doubling of earned income of the top one-quarter percent of taxpayers. But there are echoes of winner-take-all outcomes through the rest of the pecking order. Consider, for example, the split between \$25-an-hour autoworkers who assemble Fords and the \$5-an-hour fast food workers across the street who assemble burritos.

One explanation, argues Robert Frank, is that changes in technology, marketing and corporate organization have created fantastic economies of scale in highly specialized services. "One soprano's voice on a CD can do the work of hundreds" in old-fashioned concert halls, he notes. Since most people get their music on CD's, the very best sopranos make fortunes while others wait on tables. By the same token, he says, a fine lawyer may be only marginally better at the craft than the competition, "but if you are being sued for \$100 million, think how much more it is worth to hire the one who can improve your odds of winning by just a few percent."

Another explanation is the breakdown of social conventions that limited extremes in compensation and deterred those with the wherewithal from simply taking the money and running. Paul Joskow of M.I.T. estimates that during the 1980's, a period of stagnant average wages, the pay of chief executives at 800 large corporations rose by 75 percent. And this apparent breakdown in we're-all-in-this-together civility, argues Andrei Shleifer of Harvard, could also help to explain the ruthlessness of corporate restructuring, in which divisions are liquidated or moved abroad, middle managers fired, pension plans abandoned and union strikers replaced.

What, if anything, should be done about winner-take-all outcomes, argue most analysts, turns on what is driving the phenomenon. Economists are generally inclined to

give the benefit of the doubt to markets, assuming that interference will reduce productivity by distorting incentives to work, hire, save and invest. Thus what the late economist Arthur Okun called "the big tradeoff" between economic efficiency and fairness was a rationale for caution — caution reflected in everything from worries about the impact of high tax rates to flat-out opposition to minimum wages.

But some critics, notably Derek Bok, the former president of Harvard and author of "The Cost of Talent," thinks there is no real market to preserve at the very top — corporate executives, he argues, effectively control their own pay — and thus little reason to worry that interference would reduce efficiency. For his part Mr. Frank believes that winner-take-all is often the consequence of a subtler form of market distortion, one in which much of the investment in learning "superstar" trades such as investment banking goes to waste because only a tiny fraction of the applicants ever get the superstar jobs.

"If Frank is right," concludes Jim Reitzel of M.I.T.'s Sloan School of Management, "it's a win-win situation" to discourage such overinvestment by heavily taxing the superstars. Mr. Frank would also like to level the playing field by subsidizing investment in productive activities, like teaching, that offer no prospect of superstar status.

By the same token, corporate restructuring is often seen as necessary medicine for what ails a slothful corporate America no longer shielded from global competition. On the other hand if, as Mr. Shleifer suggests, the shuffling and reshuffling of corporate assets has largely served the short-term interests of investment bankers and fad-obsessed managers, rules against plant closings or firing without generous severance might raise productivity.

But to Mickey Kaus, the author of "The End of Inequality," this debate is a distraction from some uncomfortable truths. Adam Smith's invisible hand has no moral sensibility, he argues, and the outcomes determined by markets are unlikely to be fair. Worse, he predicts, the politically tolerable level of tinkering with income distribution — everything from education reform to tax policy — will be insufficient to right the balance.

What, then, is left to do? Mr. Kaus thinks the best hope is to convince people to value community more and material success less. "The goal should be social equality, not money equality," he argues. "Some might drive Porsches and some might not own cars — but they would all be willing to live in the same neighborhood and send their children to the same schools."

From 'How?' to 'Why?'

Continued from page 1

a Republican who has proposed the nation's strictest work program. Mr. Clinton is pledging to make welfare recipients join a work program after two years; Mr. Weld wants to give them 60 days.

Mr. Clinton has yet to issue his proposal, but others are not waiting. He is pledging the toughest work program of any President, but House Republicans have already called it too soft, and have introduced a tougher proposal, with longer work hours and few exemptions.

And other Republicans are saying that even that plan is too soft. The issue is no longer making welfare recipients work, they say, but preventing them from having out-of-wedlock births. And that, they say, can be accomplished only by ending cash payments.

Last month's proposal to do so is sponsored by Representative James Talent of Missouri and Senator Lauch Faircloth of North Carolina, both first-term Republicans. A similar plan is backed by some of the party's top draws, including Jack F. Kemp, the self-styled "bleeding heart conservative," and William Bennett, the former drug-policy czar.

Part of their motivation is clearly partisan. They recently circulated a memorandum calling on Republicans to score political points and "discredit the moderate pretensions of the President."

States are not waiting. At least 30 have experimental programs under way, designed to prod or pull people from welfare, a pattern that critics regard as a piecemeal dismantling of the system.

Wisconsin, Florida and Vermont have won

Federal permission to try their own version of a two-year limit, and a decision on the Massachusetts proposal is due in the next few weeks. New Jersey, Arkansas and Georgia are denying additional benefits to women who have additional children. Wisconsin and Ohio cut grants to women whose children skip school.

The movement has spilled into other areas of poverty policy, as was evident in New York on Friday, when Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani announced a reversal in the policy toward the homeless. Mr. Giuliani said he would deny shelter to families who refused to join training or drug-treatment programs.

More Misery Than Now?

But Mr. Clinton's own zeal may be fading. Richard Nixon barely mentioned welfare in his 1968 campaign, but proposed a sweeping overhaul after seven months in office. (More generous than anything Mr. Clinton has in mind, this plan, never approved, would have set a guaranteed national income.)

Mr. Clinton, by contrast, beat the campaign drum loudly, but after 16 months has not sent over a bill. In part, that is because he does not want to slow down his health care proposal, which must travel through the same Congressional committees.

But his aides have also fought pitched battles among themselves to define what ending welfare means, and how to pay for it. They want to expand training programs, and then require those still unemployed after two years to join a work program.

But what of those who cannot find jobs when the work program ends? There might be little hesitation to cut them off, were only adults involved. But the national program is called Aid to Families with Dependent Children (italics added). It is the child's interests that makes welfare so hard to end.

Mr. Bennett, the former drug-policy czar, argues that eliminating cash payments would end the incentive for poor young women to have babies they cannot support.

While he agrees that some children could be left without parental support, he said even orphanages would be an improvement over the status quo.

"I have a hard time believing you'd have more misery than you have now," he said.

But Mr. Moyinhan said that taking children from their parents simply because they are poor is a form of "child abuse."

Bruce Reed, a White House aide, said Mr. Clinton coined the phrase in October 1991, just after announcing his candidacy. Discounting fears that it may lead to draconian results, Mr. Reed says the phrase embodies the nation's desire for fundamental but positive change.

Any misgivings? "No. No!" Mr. Reed said. "It's been a guiding star."



Welfare worker and client in the Bronx.

The Nation

Clinton the Outsider Turns Again for Help From the Insider Club

By DAVID JOHNSTON

WASHINGTON
FOR someone who ran as an outsider, President Clinton has been making a remarkable habit of turning to the capital's insider culture when he or his Administration is in trouble.

After the suicide of Vincent W. Foster, Mr. Clinton's deputy White House counsel and Arkansas family friend, the President turned first to David Kendall, a respected newcomer to the fraternity of superstar lawyers. But when things kept getting worse, he sought out the inner circle of a select club — lawyers who have turned the practice of defending important people into an art form that has vaulted the lawyers themselves into the ranks of television news celebrities, political consultants and network commentators.

Mr. Clinton went back to the Potomac Elders again this year, bringing in Lloyd N. Cutler as White House counsel to replace Bernard Nussbaum, a successful New York lawyer who never seemed attuned to the rhythms of legal practice in the capital. And last week the President hired Robert S. Bennett, a top gun among the city's white-collar lawyers, to defend him against a lawsuit alleging an unwanted sexual advance when Mr. Clinton was Governor of Arkansas.

Mr. Bennett follows in a tradition of influential Washington lawyers, like Edward Bennett Williams and Clark Clifford, whose power derived from their closeness to prominent political figures as much as their skill in courtroom advocacy. Like Mr. Williams, almost none of the members of this insiders' club began with influential connections or social prominence. Most scratched their way to the top, using their wits, toughness and legal skill to hustle increasingly big cases.

But while lawyers like Mr. Clifford achieved prominence mainly by dispensing wisdom to political leaders or advising business elites on dealing with the Government, this new generation of criminal defense lawyers earns its living from the Congressional inquiries, special counsel prosecutions and grand jury proceedings that seem to have

become a fixture of Washington life.

Besides Mr. Bennett, members include Brendan Sullivan, who represented Oliver L. North in the Iran-contra affair, Plato Cacheris, the lawyer for Alrich H. Ames, the C.I.A. agent who pleaded guilty to spying for Moscow, and Theodore B. Olson, Ronald Reagan's lawyer in the Iran-contra affair.

After more than two decades as a lawyer, Mr. Bennett, a former Flatbush boys club boxing champ, has been elevated to a place near the summit of this specialized profession. His other well-known client at the moment is Representative Dan Rostenkowski, the powerful Illinois Democrat who has been under investigation for misusing office funds. He was even picked to represent another insider, Mr. Clifford, when he was charged in the B.C.C.I. investigation.

Increasingly, lawyers like Mr. Bennett realize that a legal victory for political figures means not just keeping them out of jail, but preserving their reputations, or at least the

They don't just know the law, they have mastered the nuances of Washington's political spectacles.

ability to plausibly contend that they were unjustly accused. That often places a priority on staving off an indictment, watering down charges or plea bargaining, which in turn increases the importance of their skills as behind-the-scenes negotiators with prosecutors.

Just as frequently, lawyers, who once would rarely discuss their cases in public, interact with the news media, interpreting events in a light most favorable to their clients. Hence, they have joined the legion of Washington spin doctors. It is perhaps here that Mr. Bennett has few peers.

Playing to Win

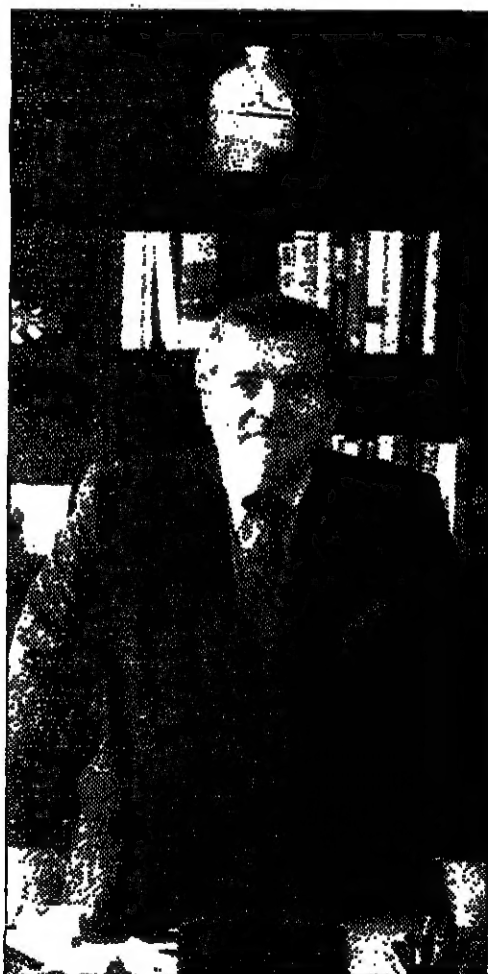
In the closed fraternity of these lawyers there are no rules of admission, no standards of performance and no guarantees that practice will succeed. Only winning counts, or at least creating the perception that no other lawyer would have done any better.

Still, in this league it is important to be known and liked because lawyers often refer cases among themselves and prospective high-profile clients shop for legal advice by asking lawyer friends for someone whose style matches their own public image. Mr. Bennett is a regular in a monthly poker group whose members include William Rehnquist, the Supreme Court chief justice, Antonin Scalia, the associate justice, Leonard Garment, one of Richard Nixon's lawyers, and Richard Moore, a lawyer and former ambassador to Ireland.

The President's selection of Mr. Bennett to handle the lawsuit filed last week by Paula Corbin Jones, a former Arkansas state employee, has placed the case in the hands of a wily legal strategist whose performance on Friday in behalf of Mr. Clinton offered an illustration of his style. Flushed with apparent indignation, he denied that the sexually charged encounter recounted in Ms. Jones's lawsuit ever took place.

"Tabloid trash with a legal caption," he said, his voice dripping with derision as he suggested Ms. Jones' credibility was fatally undercut by indications of her desire for financial gain and by her association with right-wing political opponents of Mr. Clinton.

But it was the very fact of Mr. Bennett's presence that was the most eloquent part of the message: Anyone taking on Mr. Clinton is not just taking on the White House. He's taking on the Club.



Stephen Crowley for The New York Times
Attorney Robert Bennett



Representative Charles Schumer fired a Tec-9 in April to demonstrate the semiautomatic weapon's power.

This Part's the Barrel, I Think



Lloyd Bentsen with a Street Sweeper.

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES JR.

THE oratory that preceded the House of Representatives' by-a-whisker vote to ban the production or importation of 19 assault weapons was nothing if not portentous. Justice, freedom and the American way of death were all invoked before the ban's proponents handed the National Rifle Association another Congressional defeat by a vote of 216 to 214.

Both sides left nothing out of their jobbing on the bill, which was passed six months after the House passed the Brady Bill, requiring a five-day wait before a handgun can be bought. There were discussions of how criminals and law-abiding citizens use or abuse these guns — most of them semiautomatic copies of fully automatic military weapons. There were testimonials for and against hunters, crime victims and law enforcement officers. There were photo opportunities.

And perhaps most tellingly, there was evidence of the lure of firearms. At Capitol Hill press conferences, the proponents of the ban could not resist fondling, however tentatively, examples of the hardware they had brought to underscore their pitch.

Some may have sensed the incongruity of the scene. Senator Barbara Mikulski of Maryland and Representative Leslie Byrne of Virginia looked downright bemused as they hefted a shotgun known as a "Street Sweeper."

Others seemed less attuned to irony. There was a one-time-only photo op when President Clinton gave his support to the ban while standing at port arms — well, almost — with an M16-type rifle, the very weapon he avoided picking up during the Vietnam War.

Not to be outflanked in publicity, others who favored the ban paid a visit to a local firing range so they could publicly squeeze off a few rounds — just to underscore the lethality of weapons, of course.

Representative Charles Schumer, the New York Democrat who wrote the legislation and pushed its passage with dire warnings of armed anarchy in the streets, grinned incongruously as he sprayed a burst from a Tec-9, a pistol favored by urban drug dealers. And Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, one of the most smartly dressed pols in Washington, managed to remain sartorially splendid and dignified as he cut loose, a pair of Mickey Mouse muffs protecting his patrician ears.

Opponents of the ban countered with a challenge, taunting the President and other ban proponents to a shoot-off. There were no takers.



Senator Barbara Mikulski shows a Street Sweeper to Representative Leslie Byrne on Capitol Hill before the vote.



President Clinton held a Colt AR-15, a gun included in the ban.

Bags Aloft, Planes Grounded

By DIRK JOHNSON

DENVER
IN the days when a strong back and quick hands were enough to get the task done, the ultimate in might, and right, was embodied in a character named Superman. But since the emergence of the microchip, the man of steel — faster than a speeding bullet but downright slow compared to 14,400 bits per second — has become obsolete. Even his alter-ego, Clark Kent, must have learned to work a laptop, or take the buyout at the Daily Planet.

For decades now, American workers have been looking over their shoulders at the advances of labor-saving technology, and growing weary of all the fawning over computers. They keep hearing that computers can do the job better, faster and without a peep of protest.

Into this Age of Computerocracy steps the nation's newest airport, Denver International.

Civic leaders giddily promised a "state of the art" facility like nothing ever seen before. The star of the show would be a \$200 million baggage sorting system, able to whisk luggage at a speed three times faster than conventional belt conveyors. Fancy optic devices and photocells would code bags to parallel the path of passengers, to change terminals, and to get to the claims area first. Gone would be the need for a human being to drive carts of luggage to the airplane. Gone, too, would be about half the employees needed in the old system.

"Futuristic," the airport boosters ballyhooed. But a funny thing happened on the way to the future. In tests of the vaunted system, suitcases went flying into the air like popcorn kernels, some of them breaking in

half, spewing underwear in every direction.

It was classic slapstick, but not very humorous to airport officials. And it must have been unfathomable to the computer sophisticates of America, people who are fluent in the language of megabytes and write letters on E-mail. But in the other America, where people think a "window" ought to be something to shut when it rains, and a "mouse" ought to be something to catch with a trap — there was a great howl of low-tech laughter.

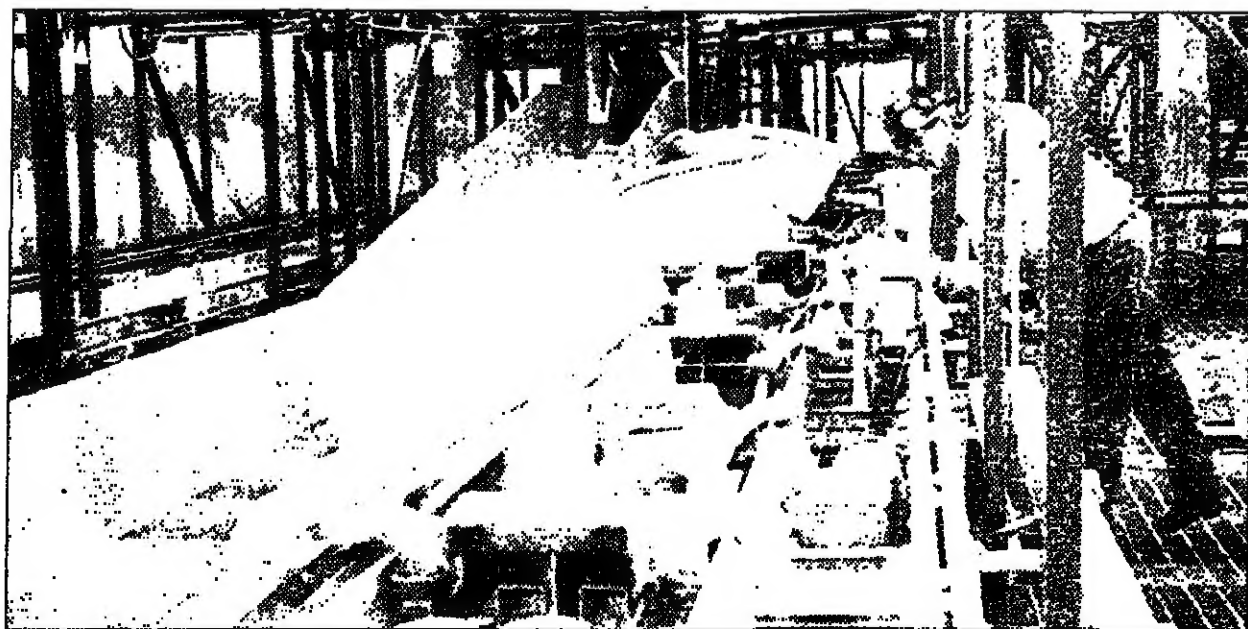
Hazardous Guesswork

Vexed by its malfunctioning system of 200 computers, the airport wasn't ready to open last October, the original date. So officials tried for December. No luck. They shot for March. Still not ready. An embarrassed Mayor Wellington Webb, who inherited the project from former Mayor Federico Peña, now safely ensconced in Washington as Federal Transportation Secretary, guaranteed a May 15 date for opening D.I.A. "come hell or high water."

At a news conference last week, Mayor Webb announced the latest delay, and prudently declined to set any more deadlines. "I won't hazard a guess," he said. D.I.A., a Denver Post headline suggested, must stand for "Done in Awhile."

The original cost of the airport was set at \$1.7 billion. The project is now estimated at nearer \$3.7 billion, financed mostly with bonds floated by the city, and \$500 million in Federal money. And the meter is running. Every day sinks the airport another \$500,000 in debt.

Most air travelers here are in no hurry for the new airport anyway. It is located 20 miles farther out of town than Stapleton, which sits at the edge of the city. Cab



Denver's new airport still hasn't opened because of software glitches in its automated baggage system.

fares to downtown will double, to at least \$30.

Back in the dark ages of aviation, when traveling by plane meant dressing up and when "bonus miles" meant flying any distance without turbulence, baggage delivery problems were handled more easily: A supervisor simply hollered at a porter to move faster.

But computers don't care who hollers at them, although it's a safe bet there has been some hollering in recent months.

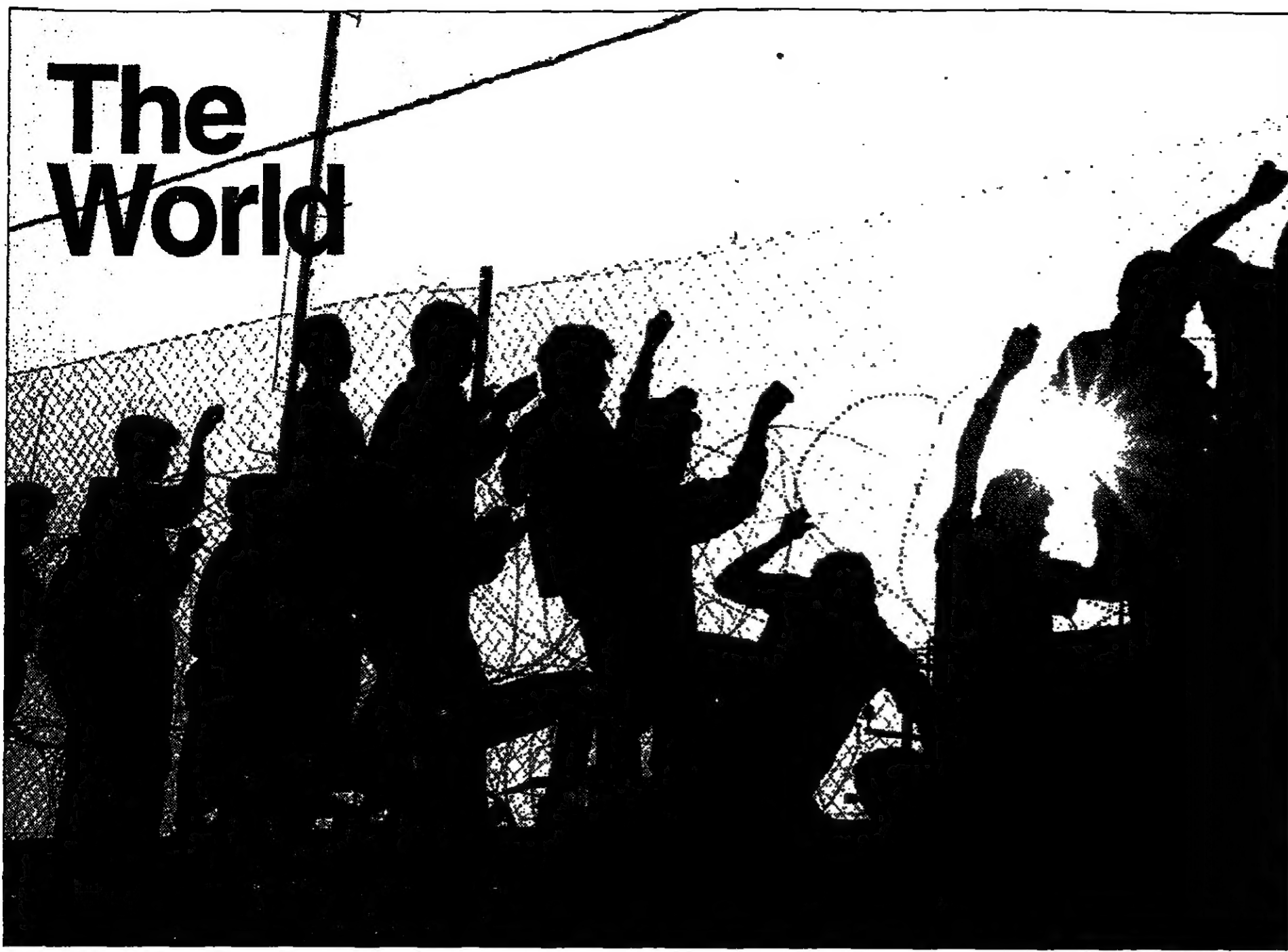
In an effort to untangle the mess, apparently caused by errors in the software, a team of technological wizards has been staring at computer screens at D.I.A.,

hoping to spot the gremlin and finally shout "Aha!"

"Actually," said Gene DiFonso, the beleaguered president of BAE Automated Systems, Inc., the builder of the baggage system, "it will take a series of 'Ahas!'"

Once the program is fixed, airport promoters insist, everybody will realize how much better travel can be. And the electronic skyway will join the other charming characters of modern-day life, like the digital-voiced telephone operator and the push-button bank teller.

For now, airport officials say, they just feel a bit star-crossed. But the fault, it seems, lies not in the stars, but in the software.



Palestinians waited for prisoners to be released from the central Gaza prison Wednesday after the signing of the self-rule agreement.

The World

By CLYDE HABERMAN

ISRAEL and the Palestine Liberation Organization showed last week that the old song had it right when it said breaking up is hard to do.

By finally signing off on the details of Palestinian self-rule for the Gaza Strip and Jericho, they in effect filed for divorce. But theirs is a messy separation. As an Israeli Government spokesman noted, this couple not only is still sharing the same house but has also devised a most complex arrangement for cohabitation.

The Palestinians' two rooms, Gaza and Jericho, are not even connected. Moving from one to the other means having to pass through the corridors and living quarters of an Israel that is jittery about such an invasion of its space. Moreover, the marriage endures as a set of financial ties. Paradoxically, it may well grow stronger in that critical area because the two sides, recognizing Palestinian dependence on Israel for jobs and markets, have formally agreed to stay economically bound.

Still, the long-awaited signing of the Gaza-Jericho agreement in Cairo on Wednesday signaled that a parting of the ways had begun, 27 years after Gaza and the West Bank fell to Israel in war. Both Palestinians and Israelis were conspicuously restrained at this momentous turning point. In part, that is because nothing really happened after the signing. The P.L.O. said it needed a few more weeks to assume authority in the newly autonomous areas, and this put a temporary hold on splashy displays like uniformed Palestinian police officers marching in and Israeli forces heading out.

Change should come soon, though. Then the world will see if the Palestinians can govern themselves effectively, democratically and nonviolently in tiny Jericho and teeming Gaza, and thereby take the next steps along their road to statehood.

Leading Palestinians like Hanan Ashrawi, the former spokeswoman for the Palestinian peace team, dislike suggestions that the Gaza-Jericho plan is an experiment. Palestinians don't have to prove themselves worthy of independence, she says. Nonetheless, many countries, especially those being asked to contribute billions of dollars, will first want to see that their money is well-

spent and not mysteriously falling off the truck.

So, like it or not, the Palestinians are on probation. Yet it is also increasingly difficult for many people to see how, ultimately, they will be denied the state they want to build in the West Bank and Gaza.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin insists that is not in the cards, and other Israeli officials say options short of statehood would be preferable for neighboring Arab states as well as Israel — federation, for example, of a Palestinian "entity" in the West Bank with Jordan.

But Israelis on both the left and right are convinced that the statehood genie is out of the bottle, never to return. Leftists like Yael Dayan, a member of Parlia-

It's like probation. How well can the P.L.O. administer Jericho and Gaza?

ment and daughter of the late Gen. Moshe Dayan, say there is no reason for a strong Israel to fear what is likely to be a fragile Palestinian state. Rightists like Ariel Sharon, the retired general and would-be prime minister, warns that Israel would be signing its own death warrant if it permitted a "terrorist Palestinian state" next door. No matter which side is correct, the point is that neither believes that what has begun can be reversed.

Certainly, Yasir Arafat, the P.L.O. chairman, has done his utmost to squeeze Israel for every possible trapping of sovereignty, including privileges that Mr. Rabin initially rejected. The Palestinian authority will rule territorial waters off the Gaza Strip, and will have its own stamps, travel documents and international telephone code. These are not important matters, Mr. Rabin says with a wave of the hand. But symbols count for Mr. Arafat, and it is a safe bet that he will push for more. He considers himself president of future Palestine, not mayor of backwater Jericho, and after he enters that West Bank town, he can be expected to receive foreign

dignitaries there as though he were a head of state.

How fast can he move toward his goal of an independent Palestine? To hammer out a Gaza-Jericho agreement, it took seven months, and in the end corners had to be cut on critical details because the parties were fed up with negotiating. The next step, extending self-rule to the rest of the West Bank, is far more problematic. The West Bank and Jerusalem are at the core of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, wrapped in religious imperatives, ethnic fealties and irreconcilable claims to land, water and history. Many Israelis say negotiations could drag on a year or more. Others say it is time to speed up the process, skip the self-rule discussions and move on to talks on the territories' final status.

Which path the Israelis and Palestinians take next may depend on how much good will they can muster. On both sides, there are people who genuinely — some would say valiantly — believe that reconciliation is possible despite the decades of hatred and death. But they seem to be outnumbered by the doubters, and they are often overwhelmed by sudden mayhem that deepens mistrust.

Palestinians have an added complication. Cynicism is so pervasive among them that they have slender faith in their leadership and, often, in themselves. That can be seen when some of them ask whether they can trust the P.L.O. chieftains about to arrive from Tunis to manage their affairs. It is reflected in the skepticism of Abdel Salam Abu Abada, a blacksmith in the squalid Shati refugee camp outside Gaza city. "They'll give the good jobs to those who are connected to them," he said as he watched the signing ceremony on television.

Wary of Hugs and Wars

His dour opinion was epidemic in the coastal strip, where the dawn of a new era brought little jubilation. But there were those who were untroubled, even pleased, by the paucity of celebration. Caution is healthy, they said, when peace is still only knocking on the door.

"From dances and hugs, new wars emerge," the Israeli poet Yehuda Amichai wrote last week. "In order to last, peace must be made by tough bureaucrats and seasoned lawyers. We must not become euphoric. From now on, real peace is a matter of time. And if someone doesn't have patience, he will pay with a war."

Leftists Await Bitter Victory In Hungary

By JANE PERLEZ

HUNGARY'S former Communists seem on the brink of a comeback, but instead of rejoicing they are bracing themselves and the country for a formidable task. Anything but utopian in their thinking these days, these are practical politicians; they guided Eastern Europe's softest form of Communism in the 1980's, and now they are trying to lower expectations among an electorate already soured by its first taste of a market economy.

The ex-Communists, who now call themselves Socialists, stand a good chance of leading a coalition government after two rounds of national voting, which starts today and ends May 29. They say there is no looking back to the false comforts of Communism. They warn there will be more pain, not less, in the near future. What they are offering is a "correction" on the path to free markets, not redemption.

But they emphasize that the stakes are high. If the left fails in the next four years, then groups on the far right, they say, could quickly coalesce to fill the void. In saying this, they echo a worry familiar in much of Eastern Europe — the prospect that discontent with the market's rigors will drive voters into the hands of demagogues offering nationalism as a distraction.

In Hungary, the ex-Communists take the position that the rigors must be faced and overcome. "Our stabilization program won't be popular in the first two years," says Laszlo Bekesi, who was the last Communist Finance Minister. Full employment, one feature of the old Communist system, is deemed unrealistic, one rea-

Ex-Communists speak not of utopia but of stability achieved through pain.

son the Socialists have convinced most people that they really have converted to the outlook of Europe's Social Democrats. The aim, instead, is to halve the current 12.2 unemployment by 1998. The party is also calling for only a small increase in welfare — and reforms that would trim the rolls.

This campaign takes it for granted that the prospects for economic gains are limited — not least because Hungary has an enormous foreign debt left over from Communist days, and a huge budget deficit.

What gives the Socialists a good chance to win is that voters seem fed up with Hungary's current Government, which has ruled since Communism collapsed and has been dominated by the nationalistic Hungarian Democratic Forum. The most right-wing government in Eastern Europe, it has stressed nationalism and claimed that Hungary's true borders extend to minorities in neighboring countries. And while it has attracted the largest amount of foreign investment anywhere in Eastern Europe, the Government recently started to back off when it was attacked for selling Hungary's birthright.

In the most recent Gallup poll, the Forum placed far behind the Socialists and their logical coalition partner, the Free Democrats. Groups further to the right are given little chance of even sending anyone to Parliament. Only small crowds, for example, turned out for Istvan Csurka, a playwright whose tirades against Jews and Communists had been too much for the Forum, which expelled him.

But the Socialists, led by Gyula Horn (who was badly hurt in a car accident Thursday), are worried anyway — that the Forum's nationalistic tendencies will harden in opposition, and that its hand will be strengthened by far-right groups kicking up a fuss outside Parliament. In the last days of the campaign, the Forum showed its potential for rough politics by using state television to paint the Socialists as ruthless Reds from the '50's.

"A Socialist-liberal coalition is going to provide a big target for these people," said Andrew Arato, a visiting scholar at the Central European University here. "There will be plenty of room for demagoguery."

Zoltan Gal, an Interior Minister before the Communists were swept away in 1990, said: "It is going to be a terribly difficult situation and for us it's a terrible risk and responsibility. The country has already suffered a very bitter disillusionment. And if there is another disillusionment with the left-wing ideology, we can get into grave trouble. If we don't succeed, the pendulum will go to the right again and that is very scary."

The Legacy of V.E. Day

Unsettling Homages of War

Continued from page 1

the Western allies left, and will do so June 18, with a formal ceremony involving Vice President Al Gore and French and British leaders on Sept. 8. As much as they all think of Russia's President Boris N. Yeltsin, it just didn't seem fitting to invite him. Mr. Yeltsin, who will be visiting Germany this week, will return for a symbolic and separate sendoff for Russian troops Aug. 31 that finesses the question of "liberation."

But 49 years ago, even in the western part of the country, few Germans outside the small resistance movement believed that the Allies had "liberated" them. It was the cold war, and their own efforts, that turned defeat and occupation into liberation — for a long time only for West Germans.

All over Germany today, millions feel genuine gratitude to the United States, Britain and France for letting them develop in freedom and democracy, and to both the Western allies and Russia for letting them reunite in freedom in 1990.

But ambiguity about the past remains. Germans do not appreciate being excluded when their neighbors mark the passing of a regime that shamed Germany and spread death and destruction among its neighbors. They are not alone in sometimes wishing reconciliation were the same as forgiveness, and can't understand

Germans as both vanquished and victor.

how much it depends not on forgetting but on remembrance.

"My wife's compatriots blitzed me out of my wits in London during the war," wrote Arthur Hayward-Costa, a British veteran, to The Sunday Times recently. "I vividly remember the devastation and suffering, just as my wife's parents remember the bombing of Germany, but I can hardly blame my wife for all this, since she was not even born then."

Bitburg

The Germans' search for symbols that acknowledge this sometimes leads them astray, as in 1985 when Chancellor Kohl insisted that President Ronald Reagan visit a military cemetery in Bitburg that turned out to include a few graves of Waffen-SS members.

Mr. Kohl, lacking the inspired sense of occasion that caused Willy Brandt to fall spontaneously to his knees while visiting the Warsaw Ghetto memorial in 1970, refused to

recognize that Bitburg could never be a symbol of reconciliation. Mr. Brandt's gesture was such a symbol because it expressed repentance, made all the more poignant because he had suffered wartime exile and worked in the anti-Nazi underground.

Chancellor Kohl was only 15 years old when the war ended, and can in no way be held personally responsible for its horrors. Ten years ago, he did want to attend the 40th anniversary D-Day commemorations, and was rebuffed. But D-Day is a symbol of solidarity among United States, British, French and Canadian soldiers against a common enemy whom they fought for nearly another year before the war ended. It is not a sign that these countries, now the Germans' allies, have changed their minds about them now, so Germans need not feel affronted; this is the lesson Mr. Kohl learned 10 years ago.

The German Chancellor will be welcome at ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the end of the war, a year from today, and can make a speech then about the lessons Germans have learned from their history.

President Richard von Weizsäcker did that, memorably, before the German Parliament nine years ago. But the way they live and practice democracy, tolerance and responsibility in their daily lives in the year ahead will say more about what they have learned than any anniversary could.



For Rwandans, the Agony Goes On

Rwandans took cover last week at a camp in Benako, Tanzania. They were among hundreds of thousands fleeing ethnic fighting in which an estimated 100,000 or more have died.

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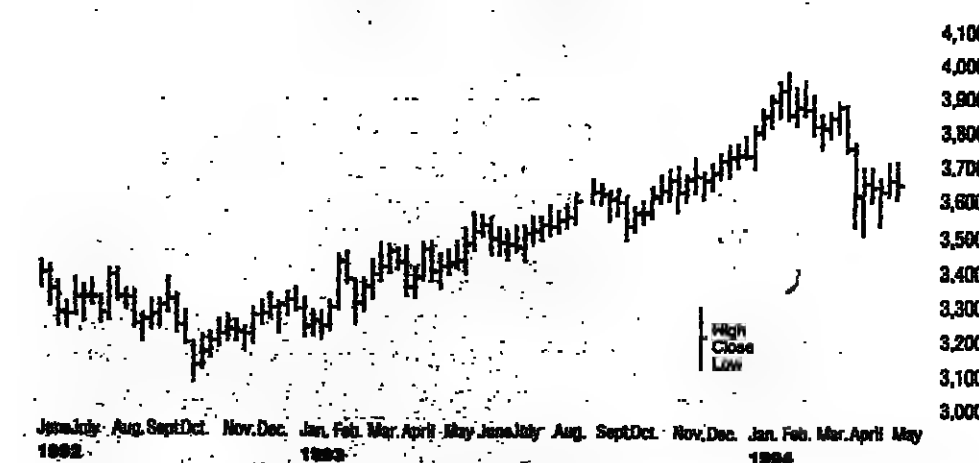
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The Stock Markets Last Week

DOW JONES INDUSTRIAL AVERAGE



MARKET DIARY

	NYSE	NASDAQ	AMEX
Advanced	978	2,117	398
Declined	1,606	2,205	439
Unchanged	353	873	155
Issues Traded	2,937	5,195	993
New Highs	98	174	34
New Lows	236	190	77

MARKET INDEXES

	Close	Chg	%Chg	YTD %
D. J. Indust	3,669.50	-12.19	-0.33	-2.25
D. J. Transp	1,608.92	-51.21	-3.08	-8.70
D. J. Util	188.83	-10.55	-5.29	-17.65
S. & P. 500	447.82	-3.09	-0.69	-3.99
S. & P. Indust	522.90	-2.10	-0.40	-3.20
NYSE Comp	248.47	-1.89	-0.75	-4.10
Nasdaq	732.86	-0.98	-0.13	-5.66
Amex	439.73	-0.18	-0.04	-7.84
Russell 2000	251.65	-0.90	-0.36	-2.68
Wilshire 5000	4,470.45	-24.27	-0.54	-4.02
Value Line	283.88	-2.13	-0.74	+9.47

INTEREST RATES

	30-Year Bonds	Three-Month Treasury Bills	Municipal Bonds
Sept. Oct. Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb. Mar. April May 1993	8.0	4.0	5.0
1994	7.5	3.5	4.5
1995	7.0	3.0	4.0
1996	6.5	2.5	3.5
1997	6.0	2.0	3.0
1998	5.5	1.5	2.5
1999	5.0	1.0	2.0
2000	4.5	0.5	1.5
2001	4.0	0.0	1.0
2002	3.5	-0.5	0.5
2003	3.0	-1.0	0.0
2004	2.5	-1.5	-0.5
2005	2.0	-2.0	-1.0
2006	1.5	-2.5	-1.5
2007	1.0	-3.0	-2.0
2008	0.5	-3.5	-2.5
2009	0.0	-4.0	-3.0
2010	-0.5	-4.5	-3.5
2011	-1.0	-5.0	-4.0
2012	-1.5	-5.5	-4.5
2013	-2.0	-6.0	-5.0
2014	-2.5	-6.5	-5.5
2015	-3.0	-7.0	-6.0
2016	-3.5	-7.5	-6.5
2017	-4.0	-8.0	-7.0
2018	-4.5	-8.5	-7.5
2019	-5.0	-9.0	-8.0
2020	-5.5	-9.5	-8.5
2021	-6.0	-10.0	-9.0
2022	-6.5	-10.5	-9.5
2023	-7.0	-11.0	-10.0
2024	-7.5	-11.5	-10.5
2025	-8.0	-12.0	-11.0
2026	-8.5	-12.5	-11.5
2027	-9.0	-13.0	-12.0
2028	-9.5	-13.5	-12.5
2029	-10.0	-14.0	-13.0
2030	-10.5	-14.5	-13.5

New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE

Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.
Syntex	605996	23 1/2 + 8 1/4
RJR	185065	5 1/4 - 1/8
RJR p/a	185021	6 1/4 - 1/8
Chrysler	145762	45 1/2 - 1 1/4
TimeWar	130740	39 + 3 1/2
Motors	129730	44 1/2 - 3/4
TelMe	129678	55 1/2 - 3/4
RJR p/c	129385	5 1/2 - 1/4
Merck	122010	30 1/4 + 1/2
WestG	116344	13 + 1 1/4
Kmart	109224	15 1/4 - 1/8
GM	106549	54 1/2 - 2
Ford	105381	58 - 3/4
WalMart	98493	24 1/4 - 1/2
EKodak	98241	45 1/2 + 4

PERCENTAGE GAINERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
vLnStr	14 1/4	+12 1/2% 654.8
Syntex	23 1/2	+ 8 1/4 54.1
Rxane	6 1/4	+ 1 1/4 34.2
OrbEng n	12	+ 3 33.3
EBP	13 1/4	+ 3 1/2 32.1
Showb	22 1/4	+ 5 28.2
Zemex	9 1/2	+ 1 1/2 20.6
NSand	33 1/4	+ 5 1/2 19.9
10thStn A	10 1/4	+ 1 1/4 14.4
Diagn	19 1/4	+ 3 1/4 19.4
20Cnln	17 1/4	+ 2 1/4 15.1
ECC Int	15 1/4	+ 2 1/4 15.8
Bloct	16 1/4	+ 2 1/4 15.8
RamHO	63 1/2	+ 8 1/4 13.0
Weir	10	+ 1 1/4 15.9

PERCENTAGE LOSERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
ClairSt	13 1/4	- 3 1/4 21.5
Cobrand n	4 1/4	- 1 1/4 20.8
AcmeC	12 1/4	- 3 1/4 19.7
Mascoch	15 1/4	- 3 1/4 17.1
WrdCo	4 1/4	- 7/8 16.3
Bombf s	16 1/4	- 3 1/4 16.2
BrazEF n	15 1/4	- 2 1/4 15.4
NMedia	4 1/4	- 3/4 15.0
StkVC pf	13	- 2 1/4 14.8
Mascoch pf	16 1/4	- 2 1/4 14.6
Tally	5 1/4	- 1 1/4 14.6
GrupFsr n	19	- 3 13.6
ShangPet n	23 1/4	- 3 1/4 13.6
Brazil	20	- 3 1/4 13.5
ContiCo	19 1/2	- 3 13.3

Nasdaq

MOST ACTIVE

Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.
Intel s	262032	59 1/2 - 1 1/4
Cisco s	249634	31 1/2 + 1 1/4
ElcoArt s	171201	19 1/4 - 2 1/2
Novell s	129609	19 + 3/4
US-It s	121615	38 1/4 - 3/4
ValTec	119422	7 1/4 - 1/4
TelCom A	114614	20 1/4 + 3/4
MCI s	113650	22 1/4 - 1/4
Oracle s	107133	29 1/4 - 1/4
Microsoft	107142	92 1/4 - 1/4

PERCENTAGE GAINERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
AldCl	22 1/4	+ 9 1/2 71.0
PitSftw s	7 1/4	+ 2 1/4 50.0
Babystr n	5 1/4	+ 1 1/4 50.0
PharmPch	7	+ 2 1/4 47.4
YorkR	6	+ 1 1/4 41.2
PLGaming	9 1/4	+ 2 1/4 39.3
KiddePr	12 1/4	+ 3 1/2 38.9
NE Rity	7 1/2	+ 2 36.4
Intphse	6 1/4	+ 1 35.9
TricoPd	28	+ 7 33.3

PERCENTAGE LOSERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
Bapiens	4 1/4	- 3 1/4 45.0
MGPProd	5 1/4	- 3 1/4 41.7
PharmMkt	8 1/2	- 5 1/4 40.4
AlphaBT	13 1/4	- 7 1/4 35.6
ValTec	7 1/4	- 4 35.6
TRM Cpy	6	- 3 1/4 35.1
Lifecore	4 1/4	- 2 32.0
Flachim	3 1/4	- 1 1/2 28.6
MediaVsTc	4 1/4	- 1 1/4 28.2
Octus un	5 1/4	- 2 1/4 26.5

American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE

Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.
InvCo	103444	18 1/4 - 5 1/2
ExlA	49921	1 1/4 - 1/4
EnSrv	49269	4 1/4 + 3/4
EchoBy	36828	11 1/4 - 1/4
Vicomb	22516	27 + 4 1/2

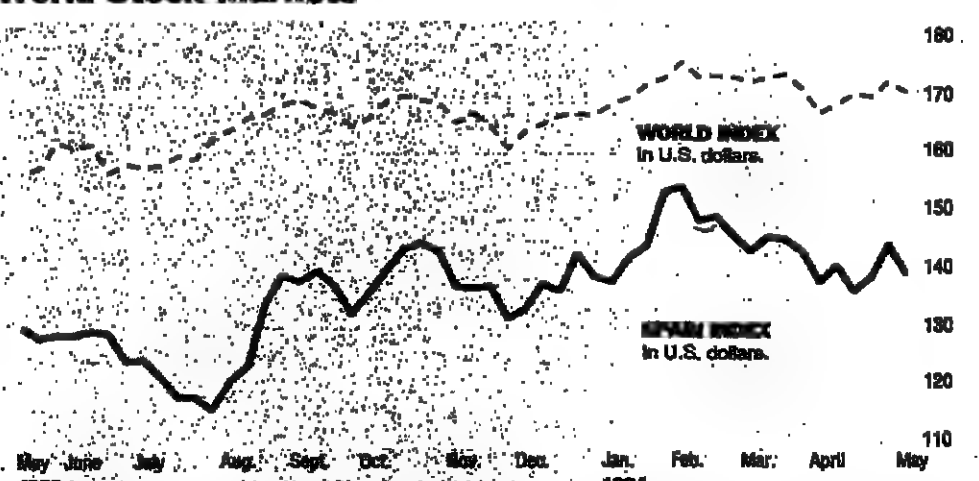
PERCENTAGE GAINERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
GullLab f	5 1/4	+ 1 1/4 34.4
Hondo	8 1/4	+ 1 1/4 24.5
Metbok	15 1/4	+ 2 1/4 23.5
Cl Fin n	5 1/4	+ 1 20.5
Vicomb	27	+ 4 1/2 20.0

PERCENTAGE LOSERS

Last	Chg.	Pct.
Littd s	6 1/4	- 7 1/4 53.6
AdvMnd pf	5 1/4	- 1 1/2 25.9
InvCo	18 1/4	- 1 1/2 22.7
Flanign	5 1/4	- 1 16.3
Halifax	6 1/4	- 1 13.1

World Stock Markets



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the FT Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and NatWest Securities Ltd. in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and the Faculty of Actuaries.

Country	IN U.S. DOLLARS				IN LOCAL CURRENCY			
	Index	% Chg.	Week	YTD	Index	% Chg.	Week	YTD
Australia	162.89	-2.5	14	-2.3	14	3.62	151.59	-7.3
Austria	174.94	-2.6	15	-5.4	19	1.02	151.69	-8.9
Belgium	173.22	-0.1	2	6.5	6	3.73	146.55	1.1
Britain	190.65	-2.1	11	-7.0	20	3.91	169.45	-7.8
Canada	129.04	-0.8	5	-5.0	18	2.61	129.16	-0.8
Denmark	256.72	-3.5	19	3.9	7	0.85	227.80	-0.3
Finland	149.29	-2.4	12	21.2	2	0.88	169.40	13.1
France	174.96	-1.0	8	-0.6	12	2.86	156.79	-3.8
Germany	143.60	-0.8	7	2.4	8	1.66	124.39	-1.8
Hong Kong	352.17	-3.9	22	-28.0	24	3.04	349.38	-28.0
Ireland	185.21	-4.1	23	-0.0	11	3.35	179.53	-3.1
Italy	95.47	-0.5	4	39.2	1	1.54	114.10	30.1
Japan	157.17	-0.4	3	20.8	3	0.79	102.11	11.2
Malaysia	471.68	-3.3	17	-20.3	23	1.42	479.93	-21.8
Mexico	1929.57	-5.2	24	-19.2	22	0.72	6983.07	-13.9
Netherlands	201.90	-1.2	9	1.4	9	3.26	172.42	-2.3
New Zealand	64.60	-3.0	16	-4.9	17	4.01	59.46	-7.8
Norway	193.42	-7.5	10	7.7	5	1.75	169.78	3.5
Singapore	338.56	-2.4	13	-7.9	21	1.65	242.77	-10.9
South Africa	264.84	-3.5	18	-0.8	13	2.27	271.88	8.5
Spain	139.67	-3.6	21	0.2	10	4.10	145.38	-4.6
Sweden	228.24	1.8	1	15.2	4	1.54	258.15	6.5
Switzerland	153.85	-3.6	20	-3.9	16	1.78	135.09	-8.4
United States	182.45	-0.7	6	-3.9	15	2.93	182.45	-3.9

COMPOSITE INDEXES

	Index	% Chg.	Week	YTD
Europe	169.35	-1.7	-0.1	2.89
Europe/Pacific	166.34	-1.2	7.2	1.85
World	171.33	-1.1	2.5	2.24

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close.

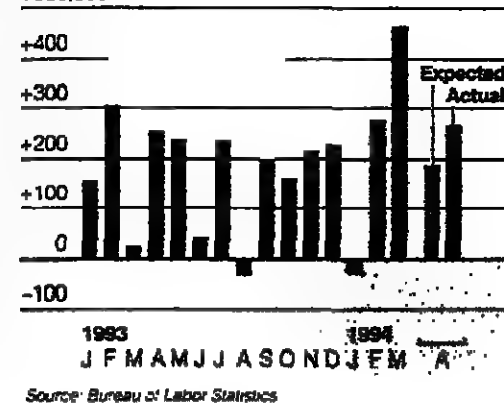
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The Economy

Would Bread Lines Make the Financial Markets Happier?

In the perverse financial world, no good news goes unpunished. The markets hate job numbers that are too strong, because they're afraid the inflation bells will go off — though no one's actually seen any inflation — and the Federal Reserve will clamp down again. So on Friday's surprising report that unemployment fell to 6.4 percent and 267,000 payroll jobs were added in April (to top it off, without the truckers' strike that would have been 73,000 higher), the stock and bond markets went into mourning. The Dow industrials, off more than 50 at one point, lost 26, while 30-year Treasury bond yields hit 7.54 percent, an 18-month high. Even as the job numbers soar, though, there are dark spots: New York State has lost 97,000 jobs in 12 months, a worse performance even than California. And last week Digital Equipment said it would cut at least 20,000 more jobs.

Change in nonfarm business payrolls, seasonally adjusted



I.B.M., at Your Service

I.B.M. has set itself a reasonable goal: make a decent profit. But the way it's always done so, making computers, provides only scant returns these days. So last week it had a new idea: It will, in effect, try to turn its vast marketing force into consultants, experts who can give clients just what they need, including software and tailor-made plans, not just sell them machines. Marketers will be divided by industry, not by which machine they sell.



Susan Harris for The New York Times

The Noisy Month of May

A silent spring? Not a chance. As nature bursts blissfully forth, gardeners brace for attack, their deafening arsenal — lawn mowers, weed whackers, leaf blowers, you name it — gassed up and ready. But noise pollution is just the beginning. While car emissions are scrutinized, garden tools spew far more filth, creating fully 10 percent of air pollution, the E.P.A. says. Mowing for an hour matches the pollution caused by driving 11 1/2 hours. So last week the E.P.A. said it will regulate garden-tool emissions. But it didn't mention one clean, silent, forgotten alternative: the reel mower. How does it run? You push it.

'Healthy,' Redefined

For many, food-buying is a constant struggle between healthy foods and high-salt, high-fat siren calls. And some food packagers seem to offer the best of both worlds by slapping words like "healthy" on all sorts of things. No more. Last week the F.D.A. and the Agriculture Department said that from now on "healthy" on a label must mean healthy inside. Products must be low in fat and low in salt, and have certain redeeming vitamins. An industry lobbying group says the rule is too restrictive because, say, green beans do not meet the vitamin threshold. But wouldn't it be silly to put "healthy" labels on beans?

Vietnam Comes Calling

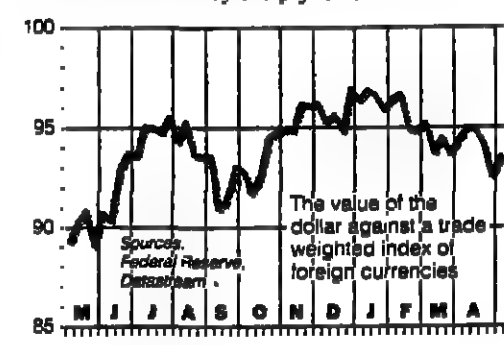
Unlike as it may sound, Vietnam wants Americans back. It badly needs rebuilding and foreign investment, and it is wary of getting it only from Asian neighbors. Last week, a delegation from Ho Chi Minh City was here in search of investors, the first such expedition since the American trade embargo was lifted in February. But if it gets any nibbles, all sides must be patient. The two nations have no diplomatic relations, and Vietnam is not likely to get most-favored-nation status, which brings low tariffs, for a couple of years.

Auto Sales Hit Cruising Speed

When sales surged 19.7 percent in March, auto makers worried that their recovery was so dazzling it would burn out — that no buyers would be left. They prefer steady growth, a foundation for lasting good times. That's just what they got in April, as the most recent figures showed a far more modest 4.9 percent rise. What cooled things off? Higher interest rates, probably — but also, many dealers simply didn't have enough cars and trucks to sell. The buyers — or, as one analyst described them, "close to six million units of pent-up demand waiting to be satisfied" — are still out there, to keep this recovery purring.

Shopping for Dollars

Governments and currency speculators have very different wish lists. Governments want things nice and steady, otherwise trade gets distorted. A strong dollar makes American goods too costly abroad, while a strong mark makes German goods too costly here. But speculators like movement: then they can roll their dice and — with all their fancy strategies — score big if they bet right. Speculators have been betting heavily against the dollar lately — perhaps because they thought President Clinton wouldn't act to support it — and their bets have helped batter the dollar. But last week Washington and its allies decided it was enough, and, in the biggest intervention in the currency markets in nearly two years, 16 nations went on a dollar shopping spree, propping it up for the moment. The question is, Will speculators be scared into reverse — or will they simply take a breather?



Southwest: On Its Own

No matter how much pressure the industry's heavies put on Southwest Airlines, it refuses to play by their rules — and this

The New York Times

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Badly Needed Intelligence

Not since the 1970's have so many Americans across the political spectrum asked so many anxious questions about what is known in Washington as "the intelligence community." Starting disclosures of Central Intelligence Agency involvement in assassination plots led in 1975 to inquiries by the Church and Pike committees, and by President Ford's Rockefeller Commission. One salutary result was the adoption of a new executive order against the dirtiest of tricks: plotting to kill a foreign leader. And the Senate and House for the first time attempted serious oversight of clandestine agencies.

The time seems right, a generation later, for comparable full-scale inquiries into the role and performance of all U.S. intelligence services. At the least Americans deserve to know why security procedures failed to expose Aldrich H. Ames, a free-sending C.I.A. official who spied for Moscow from 1965 until his arrest in February.

But more broadly, it is the quality and predictive power of U.S. intelligence that calls out for scrutiny. The C.I.A., along with the Presidents it is supposed to inform, has been repeatedly caught unprepared: by the Shah's fall in Iran, by Saddam Hussein's seizure of Kuwait and, most dramatically, by the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The most obvious question, given this track record, is why America still needs so many overlapping agencies — C.I.A., National Security Agency and various Defense and State Department intelligence units — in a world without a serious global adversary. Nobody can sanely doubt the continued need for intelligence gathering when so many nations have nuclear appetites and nuclear capacities. So long as terrorism is a threat, and ethnic wars tear nations apart, intelligence will be a vital element of national security.

But do we still need an enormous secret bu-

reaucracy, whose budget is still not divulged, designed to cope with a now-defunct enemy? Many Americans scarcely realize that the main sources of intelligence are not spies but satellite surveillance, intercepted signals and raw data harvested from open sources or routine reports filed by attaches in hundreds of embassies and consulates. These are the meat and potatoes of intelligence, but spy games, which commonly yield meager results at inordinate costs, grab the headlines.

Americans may rightly wonder what interests are served by spending billions to penetrate foreign intelligence services, an activity that Washington condemns as reprehensible when other governments do the same unto us. Spy wars are a sideshow, of passionate interest to its actors but of only the most marginal significance for national policy.

The Clinton Administration has so far been preoccupied with damage control on the Ames case. To head off legislation that would give the Federal Bureau of Investigation paramount responsibility for counterintelligence, President Clinton has signed an executive order naming his national security adviser, Anthony Lake, as head of a new board to oversee the detection of spies in the United States. But at best, this only closes a barn door. It fails altogether to deal with what's in the barn.

Critics of the C.I.A. like Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York contend that the agency routinely inflated the economic and military strength of the old Soviet bloc while grossly underestimating the threat posed by Islamic fundamentalism. An authoritative Congressional inquiry, drawing on testimony of all current and former intelligence chiefs, would honor Mr. Clinton's promise of a more open government. More importantly, it would bring under democratic scrutiny a hidden bureaucracy whose task in peacetime needs vigorous and cost-conscious review.

Mr. Gingrich's False Alarm on Trade

The minority whip, Newt Gingrich, has threatened to vote against the trade agreement that the U.S. and over 100 partners signed last month after seven brutal years of negotiation. That is a bizarre turnabout for a man who almost single-handedly bailed out the Clinton Presidency by rounding up Republican votes for a similar accord — the North American Free Trade Agreement — over the opposition of House Democrats. Bizarre — and wrong.

Mr. Gingrich says he is for world trade but against world government. He fears that the World Trade Organization, the oversight body provided for in the new agreement, would subject Americans to rules imposed by third world countries. But the W.T.O. would be more pussycat than tiger — and would protect U.S. interests better than the existing General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT, which has governed trade for almost 50 years.

The W.T.O.'s primary function will be to resolve disputes. And the procedures it will follow are those the U.S. fought hard to win. In a typical dispute, country A accuses country B of violating a trade rule. An international panel is then appointed to review the charges and render a decision. Under GATT rules the panel's decision can be blocked by any country — putting country B in the ridiculous position of vetoing its own "conviction." Congress has rightly ridiculed the GATT for its spineless procedures.

The W.T.O. would turn these dispute pro-

cedures around 180 degrees. Panel decisions would prevail unless all parties to the W.T.O. unanimously decided to set them aside. The sharpened ability to resolve disputes would overwhelmingly help the U.S. because it brings more complaints under the GATT than any other country.

There will be times when dispute panels will rule against the U.S. But even in these cases the W.T.O. bares no fangs: it cannot force Congress to change trade laws. If the U.S. refuses to change an offensive practice, the W.T.O. can authorize the plaintiff to retaliate — say, by raising tariffs on goods it imports from the U.S. Yet the U.S. would have little to fear; few countries would engage in masochistic tit-for-tat retaliation with the U.S.

There are other ways the W.T.O. would benefit the U.S. Compared to the GATT, the W.T.O. would require a larger majority to amend or adopt trade rules — better insulating the U.S. from Mr. Gingrich's third world tyranny. The W.T.O. furthermore, would give the U.S. more freedom to decide which of an offending country's exports to shut out; under the GATT, the U.S. can be restricted to punishing inconsequential industries.

The new trade agreement would dramatically lower tariffs and bring agriculture, services and intellectual property — important export sectors for the U.S. — under fair-trade rules. The W.T.O. may sound scary. But it, and the trade agreement it oversees, will greatly benefit all consumers.

Editorial Notebook

Do You Work? Are You Guilty?

One of my favorite movies is a French film from 1978 called "Dear Inspector."

It starred the marvelous Annie Girardot as a high-ranking police detective. Ms. Girardot is teamed with a more traditional male partner, and their methods are at odds throughout the film. At one point, in frustration, Ms. Girardot's character quits her job.

This is where the movie got interesting — to me, anyway. The Girardot character was, you see, a mother as well. And she had not been home for more than a few days before her daughter was pleading: "Mother! Will you please go back to work?" (Or the equivalent, in French, of course.) The energetic police detective, with nowhere to put her energy except into her household, was making herself a thorough pain to her family.

I thought of this movie while reading the latest book by Penelope Leach, the British child-care guru, called "Children First." This woman is one of the most widely read authors on child development in the world. And here she is, in 1994, trotting out all the old scare stories. Every possible form of child care, except that provided by a parent (read mother) has overwhelming deficiencies — not just for infants but for toddlers as well. A child's "special adult" is the only one he or she can really trust, the only one with the motivation to respond correctly to a child's unique needs.

Let me make my bias clear. I have four children. For most of their early childhoods, I was either a full-time student or in the work force. For each of them I cobbled together what seemed to be happy arrangements at the time: sometimes individual care by a baby sitter, but most often care in a variety of day care centers.

Each child had joyful, trusting relationships with care givers. When they went to day care, they got up each morning eager to see their friends and teachers. I noticed they often formed friendships more easily than kids who spent all day at home; they were more outgoing and more confident about negotiating with the world.

Indeed, the most damage I did to any of my kids was

A Mother's Day Present For Working Mothers

during a period, shortly after graduating from college, when I was briefly swayed by the Leach Theory and stayed at home for some months with my first daughter. She was (of course) a bright child; she became my Project. I

bombarded her with flashcards, organized activities for her, and was generally so obnoxious that, after learning to read at 3, she subsequently refused to read for nearly five years. (She's 18 now; she still can't spell.) Why are there no studies of the damage done to children by high-energy women who have no business staying at home? I have now seen plenty of these children. They are all their mothers' Projects. Their needs are obsessed over, their emotional and intellectual development so carefully overseen that they all assume the universe revolves solely around them. They have little capacity to amuse themselves, to play cooperatively with other children, to share or — in extreme instances — be in a room by themselves for more than five minutes.

I sent my three younger children off to child care guilt-free. I'm prejudiced, I know, but I think they are pretty likable, well-balanced kids. Many of my female colleagues do the same thing — but they still suffer from a horrible sense of guilt. (Their husbands, of course, have no such feelings.)

Unlike many women my age, I had a working mother. She was a music teacher, often at the schools I attended. I saw her at work and I saw her at home. I watched her whip choir into shape, facing down sullen adolescent males who towered over her, demanding perfection, making us all sweat to reach one sweet, perfect chord.

In retrospect, imagining this woman at home full time is a bit frightening. I know I would not have enjoyed being the object of all that energy, that drive, that need for perfection. Watching her, I learned the value of work, and pride in doing something well. At home, she left me the time and solitude to find my own way (a need Ms. Leach does not discuss). I think she was a better mother because she worked. I think I am too.

SUSANNA RODELL

Even Now, Nixon Stirs Up Friend and Foe Alike

To the Editor:

"His efforts to end the war came to naught for years" (April 34): When I read these words above the heading "Vietnam 1969" and the photo of a smiling President Richard M. Nixon among United States soldiers in Saigon, I hit a wall of shock and pain. It is one matter that Richard Nixon lied to this country for decades about subjects from Helen Gahagan Douglas and Checkers through Vietnam and Watergate; I believe we are still suffering from the harm he did to the American Presidency, and to our images of political leaders. It is another that, on his death, you lie about his efforts to end the war in Vietnam.

From the mid-1960's through the mid-70's, I was one of millions of people in the United States who made efforts to oppose the involvement of my country in the war in Indochina. In my view, United States participation in that war ended because we the people became conscious of the wrongdoing, we rose up and protested, and ultimately moved Congress and then, more haltingly, the executive branch, to get out of Vietnam.

Some of us were college students; some were housewives and auto workers, hairdressers and doctors; some were in groups like Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and individual survivors of horrible wounding in that war, such as Lewis Puller Jr. (see his "Fortunate Son"). Some of us were women for peace, mothers for peace, the Vietnam Day Committee of Berkeley, Calif., and some were followers of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who spoke ardently and logically against the racism of this military engagement to obliterate certain Asian peoples.

Richard Nixon was definitely not among us, making efforts to end the war. He was in Washington, serving as President, and doing everything in his power — including raising the military budget, covering up United States bombing of Cambodia and bestowing constitutionally unheard-of powers on his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger (please see William Shawcross's "Sideshow" for a more complete account) — to continue United States military involvement in the Vietnam War and Indochina.

Unlike many, I do not hate Richard Nixon, and I am not one bit interested in using his death as a platform for vilifying him. But, as one more human being who has sustained real losses from Mr. Nixon's misconduct in the United States Presidency, I hate his misdeeds. You do not advance the cause of repair, or even of dispassionate documentation, by trying to bury Richard Nixon's misdeeds with him.

MARY C. DUNLAP
San Francisco, April 28, 1994

Deserved Honor

To the Editor:
Anna Quindlen's shameless character assassination of Richard M. Nixon in her April 27 column (and on his day of mourning) is formidable revisionist history itself.

She trivializes his vast body of foreign policy accomplishments while magnifying the foibles the nation came to know only because they were recorded. Ms. Quindlen ignores that far more damaging acts were committed by other Presidents.

She holds the former Commander in Chief responsible for death and destruction in the Vietnam War, which she states he prolonged, rather than ended. This was a war he inherited from and that was precipitated and escalated by the previous two Democratic Administrations.

Lastly, is Ms. Quindlen naïve enough to think that President Nixon monopolized the dirty tricks and deceptive tactics employed during campaigns? These are the tools of all who play the political game.

She speaks of Mr. Nixon's epitaph as revisionist, while the Kennedy years are also remembered far differently from the actuality because of his senseless assassination. Prominent figures in history, particularly in American history, tend typically to

be remembered in a flattering light.

Has the deserved dignity and honor bestowed on Richard Nixon so repelled her that she must dredge up a 20-year-old wound the country has finally overcome? JOHN BOSSO
Hoboken, N.J., April 27, 1994

Strongarming Clinton

To the Editor:

William Safire's tribute (column, April 25) to his former employer's exploitation of Watergate by "years of useful service" and "decades of selfless sagacity" is called into question by the reporting of how Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton forged their "rarefied bond" (news article, same day).

Deep in the report is an account of how Mr. Nixon, after badmouthing Hillary Rodham Clinton in the Times and feeling "hurt" by the new President's failure to respond to his overture for attention, "passed the word that he was working on an article for the Times's Op-Ed page about Mr. Clinton's foreign policy that could either be gentle or not so gentle," and received a White House call within 24 hours. Apparently, Mr. Nixon's "selfless sagacity" was flexible enough to



Horacio Cardo

strongarm a new President into stroking his ego. Some people, unconstructed Nixon haters no doubt, might call that blackmail.

William Safire's loyalty as a former employee is commendable, but it serves history no more than it serves Richard Nixon to cosmeticize his true nature.

ROBERT STEIN
Barrytown, N.Y., April 27, 1994
The writer, author of "Media Power," was chairman of the American Society of Magazine Editors.

Tempered by Caracas

To the Editor:

Most Americans seeking to understand better the life of Richard M. Nixon, only dimly remember his 1958 good-will tour of South America. As an eyewitness and press attaché then at the United States Embassy in Caracas, Venezuela, and after recent research, I wonder: Did this crisis contribute fundamentally to his subsequent style of bold innovation in foreign policy?

In 1958, the Vice President had come into prominence as a Communist hunter without much international experience. The tour changed that. He confronted angry students in Montevideo, Uruguay, and Lima, Peru, and made front-page headlines when he arrived in Venezuela.

There, Communist agitators, skillfully using evidence of official United States support for the recently ousted military dictator, found willing followers, especially among the young. We Embassy officers could only watch as infuriated mobs spat upon the Nixon's; others attacked his enclosed limousine with stones, iron rods and fists. At one point we feared they would overturn it and set it afire.

Later that day, safe at the Ambassador's residence, the shaken but controlled Vice President told a press conference: "The Communists were able to gain great support from students in this country because of what has happened over the last 10 years. What we are seeing is the terrible legacy of the dictatorship."

He returned to Washington and a

hero's welcome, with President Eisenhower and 80,000 spectators cheering his statesmanlike courage. He promulgated a seven-point program to encourage democracy and economic improvement in Latin America, presaging John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress.

Perhaps Caracas dramatized to him that since local conditions primarily caused anti-American sentiment, international Communism might not really be monolithic. This may have influenced his Presidential decisions to deal directly with Communist leaders in China and the Soviet Union.

ROBERT AMERSON
Brewster, Mass., April 25, 1994

Electoral Morality

To the Editor:

With Richard Nixon's passing, his defenders are proclaiming their conviction that here was a great man who was, unfortunately, beset with a few minor flaws, one of which evidenced itself with the Watergate break-in and coverup. The flaws were great, an integral part of the man.

My own contacts with Mr. Nixon were limited. The first was on the occasion of his first visit to Moscow. He was there to open an American exhibition, and it was there that the famous kitchen debate with Nikita S. Khrushchev took place. As the NBC correspondent in Moscow then, I was among the many crowded around trying to hear. It was a debate that, in my opinion, Mr. Nixon lost. Debate, face to face, was never his forte, as the country learned some years later.

In all fairness, however, his failure was understandable, since no rudeness was beyond Khrushchev, and Mr. Nixon, as a guest, was probably not prepared to give it for tat.

In several other instances on some of his pre-Presidential visits to New York, where I then worked, I was among those who questioned him. During Senator Barry Goldwater's run against Lyndon B. Johnson for the Presidency, that proudly conservative candidate suggested that Social Security should be made voluntary. Defenders of the system charged this would be an immoral act, a betrayal of the implicit contract made between Government and the people when Social Security was created. About this time, there was a major Republican event at the New York Rockefeller Center. Mr. Nixon was present, and afterward I asked if he would answer a few questions. He said he would, and I asked about the Goldwater stand and the response.

Would it be a betrayal of a trust, would it be an immoral act, if the Government, having treated the Social Security system for everyone now proceeded to make it voluntary? Mr. Nixon said it depended on the result of the election. If Mr. Goldwater won, then it would not be immoral. If he lost, it would.

This response, given frankly and without hesitation, summed up the essence of the man. JOE MICHAELS
Hardy, Va., April 24, 1994

The writer retired as editorial director of WNBC-TV in New York.

Fought Desegregation

To the Editor:

"Richard Nixon," your April 24 editorial putting Richard M. Nixon in historical perspective, states that "he ordered the Justice Department to continue methodically dismantling the dual school system in the South." This is patently false.

The Nixon Justice Department sided with recalcitrant school districts and against black plaintiffs, a judicial pursuit of the Southern strategy rejected unanimously by the Supreme Court in Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education. The Finch-Mitchell policy pronouncement of July 3, 1969, ending reliance of fund termination to segregated schools under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 invited delay and obstruction of the law of the land.

That policy forced the NAACP Legal Defense Fund to sue the Government in October 1970 to prevent the Nixon Administration's opposition to Southern school desegregation. Let the man rest in peace, but do not distort history. PHYLLIS MCCLURE
Washington, April 24, 1994

The writer worked for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund 1969-83 on school desegregation.

Vice President at Home

To the Editor:

I should like to add a small glimpse of Richard M. Nixon. In 1957, I was allowed to write a magazine article about the two Nixon daughters, a rare thing arranged for me at high-ranking levels. Julie was 9; Tricia, 11. I was in the Nixon home with a photographer for several days. It was a large house, and the family and staff could come and go without everyone else necessarily being aware of it.

One afternoon about 5 o'clock I asked Mrs. Nixon if she knew where Tricia was. She did not and suggested I try the television room upstairs. I went up, opened the door quietly, and there, sprawled in a big leather chair, was the Vice President with five children draped all over him — his own two and three neighborhood kids.

On the screen was a replay of the day's Senate hearings that were probing into labor racketeering, specifically the Teamsters Union. The children weren't there to watch television; they just liked him.

I closed the door softly and went away. MICHAEL DRURY
Newport, R.I., April 28, 1994

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Journal

FRANK RICH

The Real Paula Jones?

Is it possible that the same right-wing journalist who tried to destroy the credibility of Anita Hill has destroyed the credibility of Paula Jones, the woman whom Clinton-haters now embrace as their own "Anita Hill"?

The journalist is David Brock, who first in the conservative magazine *The American Spectator* and then in his book "The Real Anita Hill" blended misogynist invective ("a bit nutty and a bit slutty") with tabloid reportage to smear the woman who accused Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment.

Mr. Brock's role in the Paula Jones affair is curious indeed, so much so that some might take him for a Clinton mole in the conservative camp — the Aldrich Ames of *The American Spectator*.

Mrs. Jones is the former Arkansas state clerical worker who filed suit on Friday accusing Bill Clinton, then Governor, of "sexually harassing and assaulting" her in a Little Rock hotel room in 1991. Her case is a pet cause of the anti-Clinton extremists of *The American Spectator*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *Accuracy in Media*, who have chastised the liberal press for hypocritically failing to pursue Mrs. Jones's charges as strenuously as it did Ms. Hill's.

Sexual harassment is an ugly crime, and Mrs. Jones, unlike Ms. Hill, will have her day in court, rather than in a mock tribunal presided over by some of the most conspicuous male dunderheads in the Senate.

But at least one ferocious Clinton-basher who purports to know everything about the President's Little Rock sexual past has undermined Mrs. Jones's account, and in *The American Spectator*: Mr. Brock.

The occasion was his original *American Spectator* story, published last Christmas, that bequeathed the revolting word "Troopergate" to the American language. Paula Jones made her first appearance in this 11,000-word treatise, in which Arkansas troopers gave their Peeping Tom accounts of alleged gubernatorial misadventures and Mr. Brock decried Hillary Clinton's alleged use of troopers "to fetch feminine napkins."

Known only as "Paula" in Mr. Brock's article, she is alleged to have met Mr. Clinton in a Little Rock hotel room. Afterwards, Mr. Brock wrote, "the trooper said Paula told him she was available to be Clinton's regular girlfriend if he so desired."

David Brock strikes again.

This account of the encounter contradicts the accusations Mrs. Jones makes in her public statements and court papers. There is no hint of sexual harassment — in fact Mrs. Jones comes across as a consenting adult — and there isn't even any direct statement that a sexual advance, encouraged or angrily rejected, occurred behind closed doors.

It was not until February, seven weeks after the Brock "Troopergate" story was published, that Mrs. Jones held a Washington press conference detailing her case of sexual harassment. She said that she was the "Paula" in Mr. Brock's story, but that the story was inaccurate. She added that she decided to make her charges public precisely because *The American Spectator's* account was wrong, defaming her.

But the trooper in Mr. Brock's account, Danny Ferguson, has not denied the original "Paula" anecdote as published by *The American Spectator*. Nor has he corroborated Mrs. Jones' current version of events, being a conspicuous no-show among the sources *The Washington Post* cited in its lengthy front-page report on the case last week. Now Mrs. Jones is trying to trump the silent Mr. Ferguson by naming him a co-defendant in her suit against Mr. Clinton.

Was Mr. Brock inaccurate in his original story? If so, here's yet another example of his sloppy and uncorroborated reporting, and another reason to discredit the larger Troopergate tale as well as his hatchet job on Anita Hill.

But what if Mr. Brock did have the story right the first time? If so, what happened between the December publication of *The American Spectator* story and Mrs. Jones's contradiction of it in February? Is it possible that the Clinton bashers, belatedly realizing that Americans are sick of bimbo stories, decided to repackaging one of those stories as a sexual-harassment case with the hope that a new angle would be more damaging to the President with both the public and the mainstream media?

Somewhere in this sleazy case, no doubt, there's a smoking gun. Don't be surprised if it shoots the Clinton haters right in the foot.

The Bum Who Fathered Mother's Day

By Diane McWhorter

You have heard the arguments against the rite of condescension that you are observing today. So I won't take up time deploring the crimes against taste typified by that Mother's Day card icon, the gauzy photograph of a single rose. (Why, as Dorothy Parker wondered, is it never one perfect limousine?) Nor will I rail against the mother who profits most from the holiday, Ma Bell.

Let the historical record speak for itself.

The House resolution that led President Woodrow Wilson in 1914 to proclaim the second Sunday in May Mother's Day was the only memorable accomplishment in the 26-year career of the biggest boob in the history of Congress. He may also have been the most shameless racist.

J. Thomas Heflin of Alabama served in the House from 1904 to 1920 and the Senate for 10 years after that.

Diane McWhorter is writing a book about Birmingham, Ala.

"Cotton Tom" was a walking editorial cartoon of the yahoo nabob, a great bus of a man in white frock coat, outside bow tie, pointy shoes and candy-striped socks.

Another nickname, Tom-Tom, presumably alluded to his gallery-packing oratory, which featured moos, cock-a-doodle-dos and the obligatory "Negro dialect."

To point out that Tom Heflin was a member of the Ku Klux Klan does him too much justice. The Alabama Klan of the 1920's was the insurgent populist wing of the Democratic Party, which launched such liberal politicians as Hugo Black. Heflin was a demagogue uncorrupted by ideology.

He was very high on womanhood, however — provided that it was preceded by "sacred white." In the 1930's, he championed two famous oppressed females against "vile despoilers of our precious white womanhood": the unemployed mill workers who defined an epoch in American race relations by leveling false charges of rape against nine black youths, the Scottsboro Boys. Not long after arriving in Washington, the Congressman had shot and wounded a black man for "insulting" a white

woman on a streetcar.

Mother's Day was not Tom Heflin's idea, of course. The creator was Anna Jarvis of Philadelphia, who mounted a one-woman letter-writing campaign to lawmakers, editors and heads of state after her mother died in 1905. Jarvis's sentimental obsession caught Heflin's ear above the din

'Cotton Tom' and the carnation profiteers.

of the era's suffragists. He voted against their cause, the 19th Amendment, a few years after his legislative favor to Jarvis.

Jarvis soon threw her own militant energies into anti-capitalist crusades against the confectioners, greeting-card interests and carnation profiteers she felt were exploiting her day. Her inheritance dissipated, she spent her last years, blind and destitute, in

a sanatorium room swamped once a year with the mass-produced Mother's Day wishes she abhorred. She died, at 84, in 1948.

Heflin too was frustrated. He was defeated for re-election in 1930, after the Democratic regulars read him out of the party for rallying Alabama Klansmen against "that hireling of the Pope," the 1928 Presidential candidate Al Smith. Though that rebellion would secure his place in history, he insisted toward the end of his 62 years that Mother's Day was the high point of his career.

He may have had a point: his fond obituary in the May 7, 1951, issue of *Life* magazine was surrounded by tributes to his achievement. Full-page ads piled gift ideas for the coming Sunday observance — a Playtex pillow, a Hoover vacuum cleaner ("Let your instinct lead you to it") and the archetypal Whitman's Sampler.

Life wrote of Cotton Tom (uncle of Howell Heflin, now Alabama's senior Senator), "You might say that his only lasting service was in being around long enough to be outgrown." Maybe that is all that needs to be said of Mother's Day.

Wiretaps for a Wireless Age

By David Gelernter

I'd be furious if my phone were tapped. Most people would. Americans have a long, proud history of low tolerance for Government snooping. Nonetheless, I strongly support the Government's ability to tap telephones when wiretapping serves a compelling law-enforcement end. Civilized life is a compromise, and wiretaps have proved their value beyond doubt: over the last decade, wiretaps have played a role in convicting tens of thousands of felons and solving (or preventing) large numbers of ghastly crimes. They seem particularly valuable in cases of large-scale drug trafficking and terrorist thuggery.

But in the age of high technology, the wiretap is a dead duck. In the old days, all conversations associated with a given phone number were funneled through one physical pathway, and by spying on that pathway you could hear it all. Nowadays, cellphones, pagers and call-forwarding make it much harder to find the right spot to attach a tap. New techniques coming into use will make it harder still: when many conversations are squashed together and sent barreling over a high-capacity glass fiber, it's hard for wiretappers to extract the one conversation they are after from the resulting mush.

Enter the Administration's Digital Telephony and Communications Privacy Improvement Act. Its goal is to save wiretapping. Congress will act on it soon. It is a good and an important bill. Congress should pass it.

The heart of the act requires phone companies to give law-enforcement agents the ability to execute "all court orders and lawful authorizations for the interception of wire and electronic communications" — whatever fancy new technology happens to be in vogue. It offers the phone companies \$500 million to retrofit telephone equipment to allow compliance with the act. If the costs exceed \$500 million, the Administration says, it will seek funds to cover them.

Not everyone is happy with this bill. Some telephone companies argue that the required retrofitting is technically hard and does nothing for competitiveness or consumer satisfaction. Some civil libertarians argue that the bill poses a threat to privacy.

The bill does present a wide range of technical problems. In some cases,

We can have it all: privacy and better law enforcement.

for example, it requires that the software controlling existing digital switches be modified; the phone companies are right when they argue that these changes would be a first-rate headache to carry out. Nor will the effort advance their competitiveness, or deliver anything exciting to the consumer. But, alas, not every civic duty is fun. And this bill sets a welcome precedent by honestly owning up to the costs and offering to pay them. The message I hope Congress will send to the phone companies is: stop whining and do it.

The more troublesome objection deals with privacy. Part of the opposition is based on simple misunderstanding. Some opponents believe that the act will give the Government new spying powers. In fact, the Government will be allowed to do exactly what it has always been allowed to do. The act is intended merely to make it technically possible for law enforcement to continue placing wiretaps.

David Gelernter, associate professor of computer science at Yale, is author of "The Muse in the Machine."



Other opponents do understand the bill and are forthright about their intentions. If technical advances kill wiretapping, they will send flowers and have a party. They argue that wiretaps aren't terribly useful anyway. This argument is also being advanced in the context of the "clipper chip," another Administration initiative that lives right next door.

The clipper chip is a small piece of computer hardware designed to stave off encryption schemes that the Government can't crack. The chip would encode all information sent out into any computer network (the Internet, for example) so it can be read only by the intended recipient — and, if necessary, a court-authorized law-enforcement agent who has the key.

Because wiretapping is useless if all you can overhear is gibberish, the Administration would like every computer to come factory-equipped with such a chip. Each chip would have its own key, and the keys would not be handed out like lollipops: each would be split in two, and each half would be lodged for safekeeping in its own Government vault somewhere.

Of course, the fact that some encryption scheme comes built-in doesn't mean that you have to use it. You can throw out your factory disk drive and plug in another. You could plug in a different Government-proof encryption scheme just as easily. Hence, anti-clipperites gleefully conclude, the chip would be useless for law enforcement, because only a half-wit would discuss a crime using plain vanilla, straight-from-the-factory encryption. And after all, who ever heard of a stupid criminal?

It is impossible to take this kind of argument seriously. What kind of half-wit criminal would leave fingerprints, make calls on any home telephone or return a rental van that

played a starring role in a big-budget terrorist spectacular? Many criminals are half-wits, many others are lazy or careless, and it's lucky they are. Clipper will make computer-based communication routinely safe and private, in a way that gives us a fighting chance of keeping our ability to spy on criminals. It is no cure-all, but it is a useful and intelligent step.

Whatever the details, opponents of initiatives like the clipper chip and the telephony act argue that they threaten the right to privacy. But in itself the right to privacy is no argument at all. We allow the Government to violate our privacy routinely for many purposes. The Internal Revenue Service makes a habit of violating it. Search warrants violate it. Privacy buffs are often big fans of gun control and the Endangered Species Act; some versions of gun control restrict the objects you may keep in your own home, and the species act has been interpreted in a way that drastically restricts the ways citizens may use their land. Whether the proposed legislation constitutes a potential invasion of privacy is immaterial. The question is, is that a justifiable invasion? Experience suggests that it is eminently justifiable.

If Congress fails to pass the telephony bill, there is every reason to believe that crime, particularly terrorist crime, will get worse. And when it happens we will shrug our shoulders, wonder vaguely how things got this way, build more prisons, tend our wounds, bury our dead — as is our wont.

All of this suggests a broader moral. A current project of mine involves a detailed study of the 1939 New York World's Fair. One of the questions I face again and again is: Over two generations during which our wealth and technical knowledge and medical expertise have all increased immeasurably, our laws have become more just and our human resources have expanded enormously — how can it

be that our confidence in the future has all but collapsed? One part of the answer is that all too often we have allowed experts to come between us and our common sense.

Modern life is so complex that it often feels as if common sense can get no purchase on it. Common sense suggests that this is no time to abandon a useful weapon in the fight on crime. But if telecommunications experts tell us that we just don't understand modern phone systems well enough to make rules about them, if legal experts or would-be experts assure us that for reasons we don't fully understand, if we pass this bill we will regret it... who are we to object?

Nothing would do us more good as a nation than to reassess our right to tell the experts to get lost. I am a "technical expert," but don't take my word on this bill as an expert. I was seriously and permanently injured by a terrorist letter bomb last year, but don't take my word as a special pleader either. Take my word because common sense demands that wiretapping be preserved. This bill preserves it. Let's pass the bill.

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it unless it is accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks.

In America

BOB HERBERT

Romeo And Juliet In Bosnia

If you watch "Frontline" Tuesday night on PBS you will see the story of two ordinary young people, Bosko Brkic, an Eastern Orthodox Serb, and Admira Ismic, a Muslim, who met at a New Year's Eve party in the mid-1980's, fell in love, tried to pursue the most conventional of dreams, and died together on a hellish bridge in Sarajevo.

The documentary, called "Romeo and Juliet in Sarajevo," achieves its power by focusing our attention on the thoroughly human individuals caught up in a horror that, from afar, can seem abstract and almost unimaginable. It's one thing to hear about the carnage caused by incessant sniper fire and the steady rain of mortar shells on a city; it's something quite different to actually witness a parent desperately groping for meaning while reminiscing about a lost daughter.

For viewers overwhelmed and desensitized by the relentless reports of mass killings and mass rapes, the shock of "Romeo and Juliet in Sarajevo" is that what we see is so real and utterly familiar. We become riveted by the mundane. Bosko and Admira could be a young couple from anywhere, from Queens, or Tokyo, or Barcelona.

We learn that they graduated from high school in June of 1986 and that both were crazy about movies and music. Admira had a cat named Yellow that she loved, and Bosko liked to play practical jokes.

Admira's father, Zijo, speaking amid clouds of cigarette smoke, says, "Well, I knew from the first day about that relationship and I didn't have anything against it. I thought it was good because her guy was so likable, and after a time I started to love him and didn't regard him any differently

Two young people love and die in Sarajevo.

than Admira." Admira's grandmother, Sadika Ismic, was not so sanguine. "Yes, I did have something against it," she says. "I thought, 'He is a Serb, she is a Muslim, and how will it work?'"

For Admira and Bosko, of course, love was the answer to everything. While Bosko was away on compulsory military service soon after high school, Admira wrote: "My dear love, Sarajevo at night is the most beautiful thing in the world. I guess I could live somewhere else but only if I must or if I am forced. Just a little beat of time is left until we are together. After that, absolutely nothing can separate us."

Sarajevo at the time was a cosmopolitan city coming off the triumph of the 1984 Winter Olympics. With a population of Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Jews and others, the city had become a symbol of ethnic and religious tolerance, a place where people were making a serious attempt to live together in peace.

But civilization is an exceedingly fragile enterprise, and it's especially vulnerable to the primal madness of ethnic and religious hatreds. Simple tolerance is nothing in the face of the relentless, pathetic and near-universal need to bolster the esteem of the individual and the group by eradicating the rights, and even the existence, of others.

When the madness descended on Sarajevo, Bosko Brkic faced a cruel dilemma. He could not kill Serbs. And he could not go up into the hills and fire back down on his girlfriend's people. Says his mother, Rada: "He was simply a kid who was not for the war."

Bosko and Admira decided to flee Sarajevo. To escape, they had to cross a bridge over the Miljacka River in a no-man's land between the Serb and Muslim lines. Snipers from both sides overlooked the bridge.

It has not been determined who shot the lovers. They were about two-thirds of the way across the bridge when the gunfire erupted. Both sides blame the other. Witnesses said Bosko died instantly. Admira crawled to him. She died a few minutes later. The area in which they were shot was so dangerous that the bodies remained on the bridge, entwined, for six days before being removed.

Only the times and places change. Bosnia today, Rwanda and Burundi tomorrow. Jews versus Arabs, Chinese versus Japanese, blacks versus whites. There are various ostensible reasons for the endless conflicts — ideological differences, border disputes, oil — but dig just a little and you will uncover the ruinous ethnic or religious origins of the clash.

The world stands helpless and sometimes depressed before the madness. Millions upon millions dead, millions more to die. It is not just the curse of our times. It seems to be the curse of all time.

Mia Farrow: Picking Up the Pieces and the Legos

By DINITIA SMITH

Mia Farrow is sitting in her large, dark, paneled apartment on Manhattan's Central Park West. The light shines through her blond curly hair—hair she says she cuts herself. She is nearly 50 years old, with 12 children, 3 cats, 4 birds, a hamster, a guinea pig. She has been up last night with her new adopted daughter, 3-month-old Keili-Shea.

Yet she seems eerily younger than her age. Her skin is luminous, seemingly without makeup—or makeup applied so expertly it is undetectable. The impression of youth is enhanced by her clothes—jeans, worn white cotton T-shirt, Doc Martens.

Her family has occupied this apartment since she was 18, when her mother, the actress Maureen O'Sullivan, first rented it. Almost every wall is covered with family photographs: Ms. O'Sullivan as Jane in "Tarzan"; her father, John Farrow, who directed "The Big Clock," John Wayne westerns and won an Oscar for his script for "Around the World in 80 Days." The apartment is so dark that André Previn, Ms. Farrow's second husband, is said to have once joked, "You have to be careful where you step in Mia's apartment. There might be a baby."

Behind Ms. Farrow is the window from which she can see the apartment of her former lover Woody Allen across Central Park. Today, she prefers not to talk about Mr. Allen directly. "I have tried to take the high road," she says.

But she has a new movie coming out on Friday, "Widows' Peak." She is being interviewed again, and inevitably questions turn to Mr. Allen.

For the past two years, the drama of Woody and Mia's breakup has been played out in newspapers. The destruction of their relationship was like an end to innocence itself. Woody and Mia were generational icons, a quintessential urban couple, endlessly self-absorbed, in endless psychotherapy, simultaneously knowing and childlike, seemingly able to take what they wanted from life, when they wanted, how they wanted it.

Then Woody began having an affair with Mia's 19-year-old daughter, Soon-Yi Previn. Woody Allen had reached too far, into his mistress's family, to pluck her very child out. The innocence had come to an end. Then, Mia, accused, Woody, of molesting their adopted daughter, Dylan, now 8½.

Ms. Farrow appears fragile, waif-like, but "the fragility is a disguise," says her friend Stephen Sondheim.

"She's a survivor, very strong and very smart. People think she's fragile because of her voice. She sounds like a breathless, little girl."

Her roots are Irish, and she has an Irish person's love of language. In fact she is quite literary and can discuss the relative merits of Henri Troyat's biography of Tolstoy versus that of Flaubert.

Clearly referring to Mr. Allen, she says: "There is a way in which I have come to see evil. A person relinquishes parts of himself, retains one fragment of his total humanity. The cleverest can represent that fragment as the whole person. The people around him don't realize he is not accountable in the same way others are, that he doesn't experience himself in the same way. There is an emptiness that can give place to anything, that permits behavior unacceptable and unthinkable to others."

Ms. Farrow's new film, "Widows' Peak," is her first in 13 years without Mr. Allen. (Another film, "Miami," written and directed by David Frankel, has not yet been released.) Set in Ireland in the 1920's, "Widows' Peak" is about a woman who, like Ms. Farrow, appears helpless and fragile—but who has a secret. Joan Plowright plays Mrs. Doyle-Cumhann, a wealthy widow who rules the fictional village of Kishannon with her gossip. Ms. Farrow plays Miss O'Hare, a mysterious, impoverished spinster. One day, a glamorous, young widow (Natasha Richardson) arrives in the village. Miss O'Hare takes a dislike to her. And nothing is ever the same.

For Mia Farrow, the film is a return to her Irish roots. Her mother was born in Roscommon, in north-west Ireland, and her aunts still live in Dublin. Ms. Farrow's great-grandfather, Daniel O'Sullivan, was Lord Mayor of Cork. "Widows' Peak" was a journey home," says John Irvin, the director. "But the film was also a break from her past as an artist. Woody Allen has seen her as some kind of icon. I saw her perhaps as more independent, more assertive."

It has been two years since Ms. Farrow found photographs of a naked Soon-Yi, taken by Mr. Allen, and nearly a year since Elliot Wilk, Acting Justice of the New York State Supreme Court, denied Mr. Allen custody of his natural son, Satchel (whose name has been changed to Sheamus), 6; his adopted son, Moses, now 16; and Dylan, 8½ (whose name has been changed to Eliza).

A team of experts from the Yale-New Haven Hospital said they did not believe Mr. Allen had molested Dylan. But Justice Wilk faulted the re-

port and called Mr. Allen's behavior with Dylan "grossly inappropriate." Some New Yorkers know the words that follow almost by heart; they have the rhythms of a biblical pronouncement. "He did not bathe his children," Justice Wilk wrote. "He does not know the names of the children's dentist. He does not know the names of his children's friends. He does not know the names of their many pets." Justice Wilk said that Mr. Allen was "self-absorbed, untrustworthy and insensitive."

When Ms. Farrow is asked to list the names, ages and preoccupations of her children, she readily complies, but Soon-Yi's name is conspicuously absent. (Even Ms. Farrow's mother seems unsure how many children Ms. Farrow has. "I don't know," she says, when asked. "I think it is 12.")

Ms. Farrow's children come from many backgrounds. The new baby is African-American. Isaiah Justus Farrow, 2, is also African-American. There are Eliza (Dylan) Farrow and Sheamus (Satchel) Farrow. Tam Farrow, a girl, either 12 or 13—is her adoption papers are not clear—is blind and adopted from Vietnam. Moses Farrow was born with cerebral palsy and adopted from Korea. Daisy Previn, 19, and Lark Previn, 21, were adopted from Vietnam. Ms. Farrow's biological sons with Mr. Previn are Fletcher, 20, a college student in Hamburg, Germany, and 24-year-old twins, Matthew, who is at Georgetown University Law School, and Sacha, who works in electronics in Colorado.

Then there is the child Ms. Farrow had to give up. In October 1991, she had adopted Sanjay, a Vietnamese child who appeared to be about 6. Ms. Farrow thought he had polio but discovered he was profoundly retarded. "It was a very, very difficult thing to do. But given the ages of the other children, how many there are and all the professional advice, we let him go to another family with two parents who were enthusiastic and waiting for such a child."

When Ms. Farrow is asked about Soon-Yi Previn, she says: "I still love her. You always love your child."

By the time of Mr. Allen's suit for custody of his children was over, Ms. Farrow was understandably distraught. She had been dropped from Mr. Allen's new film, "Manhattan Murder Mystery," having been replaced by Diane Keaton. Then came the opportunity to film "Widows' Peak." "There was a sense of putting it all together and going forward," she says today. "Making a film in Ireland was so far removed from the courthouse. After all that had gone on, it seemed a monumental leap, almost surreal. But I have children to support. To my real delight, it was a pleasure. I was surrounded by people who were caring and funny."



Ms. Farrow in Mr. Allen's 1984 film "Broadway Danny Rose"—This time, a Mafia moll.

In many ways, all the principal actresses on the shoot last summer were nursing wounds. A biography had been published saying that Ms. Plowright's late husband, Laurence Olivier, had had an affair with Danny Kaye. Ms. Richardson's father had died of AIDS. She had recently left her husband, Robert Fox, to be with the actor Liam Neeson.

Then last August, Mr. Allen arrived in Ireland for his court-authorized visit with Satchel. There were headlines in the Irish press: "Woody: Why My Suffering Goes On" and "Woody's Anguish." "He spoke to the press, as I had anticipated and feared," says Ms. Farrow. "We'd had such a peaceful time. Now again, there were the sounds of gunfire and grenades. My stomach knew to turn over."

Hugh Leonard, the Irish playwright who won a Tony Award for "Da" and who originally wrote "Widows' Peak" for Ms. Farrow's mother, says: "Woody Allen came to Ireland and began to give speeches knocking Mia. Woody pretended to be very hurt and innocent. He put up a facade about being reasonable and wanting to kiss and make up. Everyone on the set closed ranks around her."

Mr. Allen refuses to talk to journalists about his children. "Two years later," says his spokeswoman Leslee Dart, "Mia Farrow is still saying she won't discuss her legal problems. However, she continues to use her friends and family in her attempt to vilify Woody Allen. For the sake of the children, Mr. Allen will not speak to the press."

People close to Mr. Allen say Ms. Farrow is trying to manipulate the press, presenting herself as shy, helpless, in need of a mother's love herself. "She's very charming, very manipulative," says a member of the extended family who sides with Mr. Allen and refuses to be identified.



Ms. Farrow with Jim Broadbent in "Widows' Peak," which opens on Friday—For the actress, the film is a return to her Irish roots.

"Anyone who adopts this many children for her own needs has real stability problems."

Her father, John Farrow, was Australian, "a legendary womanizer," according to Ms. Farrow, who also wrote treatises on Catholicism, a biography of St. Thomas More and a history of the papacy. Mr. Farrow was what the Irish called "a spoiled priest" and was forever torn between religious obligation and the life of the senses. Mia's best friend as a child was Maria Roach Watkins, the daughter of the producer Hal Roach. Ms. Watkins remembers the Farrow household as "bizarre, almost like two houses."

"There was an adult part we were never allowed to go in. Mr. Farrow read all night long. One of our jobs was to put his ice out in the bar when he got up. He had his own bedroom with its own entrance. Mrs. Farrow's bedroom was dark green. It was like a sanctuary. If you went there, you had to say your prayers. They were a beautiful family cosmically, not as perfect inside."

Mia was one of seven children. She had a strict Roman Catholic education. "She was very bossy," says Ms. Watkins. "She was the oldest girl. We put on plays; Mia was always the producer, director and star. The children ran pretty wild. As the oldest girl, she was the mother, the responsible organizer. It doesn't surprise me she had all these kids. Her own mother was there physically, but she wasn't. There were cooks and nannies. Mrs. Farrow would lock herself up in her room. She was not really involved."

When Mia Farrow was 9, she contracted polio. Her parents could see her only from behind a glass barrier at the hospital. When she recovered, the family dog had to be given away for fear it was contaminated, the swimming pool drained, the lawn reseeded.

Ms. Farrow's mother believes that the hospital stay contributed to Mia's later desire to adopt children. "The children around her—some died, some were in iron lungs," Ms. O'Sullivan says. "Maybe that's what started her. She was very brave to be 9 and shunted off in that dark hospital."

Ms. Farrow's polio was followed by a series of other blows. The family moved often, to Spain, England, California, New York. Then when Ms. Farrow was 13 her brother Michael Damien Farrow died in a plane crash. When she was 17, her father died. There was no money, and she had to go to work, performing in "The Importance of Being Earnest" on Broadway in 1963.

At 20, Ms. Farrow married her first boyfriend, Frank Sinatra, who was nearly 50. By then, she was known to millions as Allison MacKenzie in Peyton Place. "The day she got married, it was really sad," remembers Ms. Watkins. "We all imagined being married in the church we had gone to. Frank didn't want anyone to find out, the press. She was going to Las Vegas and getting married. The problem with Frank was that he had his life with Mia, and his other life with his cronies. I think they were really in love, but his cronies never respected her, and she never respected them. He reminded me of Mr. Farrow—the flashes of temper. Then he could be so charming and wonderful, and turn around and be somebody else."

The marriage was brief. To this day, she and Mr. Sinatra remain on good terms. "I love him very much," she says. While married to Mr. Sinatra, she appeared in the film "Rosemary's Baby" and became a star.

With Mr. Previn, whom she married after leaving Mr. Sinatra, Ms. Farrow seemed eager to forge the perfect childhood she had never had. There was a house in Surrey with a thatched roof and twin babies. But Mr. Previn, who was a successful conductor and composer in his 40's,

traveled frequently. Ms. Farrow wanted to work. Eventually, pregnant with Fletcher, she played Daisy in the film "The Great Gatsby." She and Mr. Previn were divorced in 1978.

In 1980, when in her mid-30's, she began seeing Mr. Allen, who was 45. "She was interested in his intellectual craziness," says Ms. Watkins. "Mia is always looking for a project, and he was a project. His neuroses challenged her—to give him a lovely home, even though he had his own apartment. Mia likes to please men. She likes difficult men—it's really sick," Ms. Watkins says with a laugh.

With Mr. Allen came the period of her greatest artistic growth. Ms. Farrow could play anything, it seemed: a bespectacled therapist in "Zelig," a Mafia moll in "Broadway Danny Rose," a girl from the Bronx with an adenoidal whine in "Radio Days," the sad, deceived woman in "Husbands and Wives," which prefigured the unraveling of her own relationship with Mr. Allen.

All the while, she and Mr. Allen maintained separate residences and

spent weekends together at her country house, Frog Hollow, in Connecticut. "He never wanted to be married to me," Ms. Farrow says now. "He said he didn't believe in it—it's just a piece of paper. He said we were married in every respect."

Even after she and Mr. Allen separated, Ms. Farrow continued adopting children. "The last time she adopted, I was distressed," says her mother. "I said, 'Oh, Mia, it detracts from your personal life and your physical life. What man would want to be so involved with so many children?'"

But to Ms. Farrow, raising 12 children and working as an actress has not been as difficult as it might seem. On movie sets, she says, "I just turned my camper into a nursery. Right after having Sheamus, I was so exhausted, sometimes I would just cry. Sometimes I felt like I had spent the night with vampires."

But now, says Ms. Farrow, "I just have six at home. The others are very independent. Even Tam"—her blind daughter—"can babysit, though I

wouldn't leave her alone with them. She's very responsible. She's the one who finds things. When we lost the baby chinchilla a couple of years ago, she came into my room at 5 in the morning and said, 'Mom, I found it!' She had heard it."

"I have a good time," says Ms. Farrow, "unless I'm sick." There is a tincture of dry humor in Ms. Farrow these days. "I've been picking up Legos for 23 years," she says. "By now I think I'm immune to everything." She has a housekeeper and a babysitter who work from 9 to 5. She has a cleaning woman twice a week.

Would she ever marry again? Recently, there have been reports in some newspapers that she is dating the actor Daniel Day-Lewis. "I'm not going to say anything about Daniel Day-Lewis," says Ms. Farrow. "On principle."

For now, the Farrow family seems one almost singed by sorrow. "My oldest son"—Matthew Previn—"said, 'We have defined ourselves to ourselves, and to each other. In a way that is not usually afforded to people other than through tragedy, and that's a privilege.'"

HUSH!

BY RALPH G. BEAMAN / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

1 Waltzed

7 Unrefined petroleum

13 Overshadow

20 One of the Dionnes

21 Famous flight, A.D. 622

22 Took turns

23 Ashtray empties

25 Wall Street worries

26 Think of it!

27 Step 2 for a marksman

28 Citizens' Suffix

29 Kingdom's worth, to Richard III

30 Shaving mishap

32 Bassoon, e.g.

33 Stopped talking, finally

36 Cabalist's caution

40 "From Here to Eternity," author James

41 Steam

42 Duelers' equipment

43 Dashboard reading, for short

44 Kind of cross

45 He wrote "The Postman Always Rings Twice"

46 Actor Beatty and others

47 Part of Longfellow's forest primeval

53 Magician's name suffix

54 Police support org.

57 Revolutionary Trotsky

58 Kind of geometry

59 Byron's "Calistog" daughter

60 Twaddle

61 Old Mideast imits.

62 Sorry folks

65 Beatles lyric of 1964

71 Merchants

72 Much of "Deck the Halls"

73 Supreme ruler: Abbr.

74 Status follower

75 1960 NASA launch

76 Microscopic organism

77 Baseball's Cobb and others

78 Dieci minus nove

79 1942 Joe E. Brown comedy

84 River Isles

85 Word before and after "against"

86 Border

87 Colorful moths

89 Stop, in Québec

90 Double twist

91 Masquerades

94 Kitchen contraptions

97 Court player

99 Loudness unit

100 160 square rods

101 Calibrate

102 Ersatz bankers

103 Kind of lamp

104 Ethnic music

108 Jot

110 1955 Graham Greene novel, with "The"

113 Terrestrial

114 Not close, once

115 In disgrace

116 Nash contemporaries

117 Pronto

118 Alone

19 Actor Harris and others

24 Hell's Angel

31 "So Easy" ('77 pop hit)

32 Wolf boy?

33 St.—(Missouri native)

34 Enemy of the Iroquois

35 Libraries

36 Servant

37 Capsize

38 Settle

39 Typist's speed: Abbr.

40 Cookie

44 Cask

45 It may be hard or sweet

48 Bring in

49 Sour cherry

50 Answer to "Are we there?"

51 Like Poe settings

52 Barracks items

54 Heat, of a sort

55 Big Apple area

56 Pulsating

63 Lack

64 Stroll

66 Photo option

67 Clowns around

68 Prego competitor

69 "There—and place for everything"

70 Sleeping spots

76 Bit of gear for a rock tour

79 Queens stadium

80 Party fellow

81 In the brain, so to speak

82 Dogfaces

83 Play—with (make trouble for)

84 Major, as a road

88 Throng

89 Auto option, informally

91 Brainy

92 Boxing trainer—Dundee

93 Bruce and others

94 One in line for a fall

95 Invisible

96 Public

98 "You're never too late"

99 Evel Knievel act

102 A pastel

103 Bern's river

105 Ne plus ultra

106 Highlander

107 Humorist Rooney

108 But: Lat.

109 Investor's Ginnie

111 Middle X or O

112 Fraternity letter

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

80S SPIC NANC SPACE
RIPUP ELAL UNOH MARIA
EMILE NOME ROLE INERT
GOATS SOUNDSOF SILENCE
INTATTERS NET SMELTER
SIEN HOT RAD ANASS
SHAFTED OLEG SPA
RENOWNS SAVESONESSKIN
ALIGHT HOP IDLE TOAST
FLESHIER LEGO SHEATHE
WETLY JITE STEEP
ADIRAL HENS BARROOMS
POINT TATA CAT APEAK
SINGOFSOLOON EAGERLY
ENG AUTO UNSOBER
BURNO BAT INFO ALEE
ARRANGE SAX ASSESSORS
SHOESOFSTRENGTH ATLAS
POULE IGON GLEO RAISE
ENTER NAME MERC ARTES
NEEDS ENNY TSK SAD

Dinitia Smith writes frequently about the arts and culture.

Where soldiers stood the test of battle, a memorial must stand the test of time

Renovations are to give a Six Day War site more meaning for youngsters and tourists, Abraham Rabinovich reports

THE years have increasingly disconnected Ammunition Hill from the physical context in which, during the pre-dawn hours of June 6, 1967, the fiercest battle was waged in the struggle for Jerusalem in the Six Day War.

The broad stretch of mined and barbed-wire lined no-man's land, across which the paratroopers of the 56th Battalion raced in single file, has long since disappeared beneath the Ma'lot Dafna neighborhood.

Mivtar Hill, a fortified position from where Jordanian soldiers fired on the paratroopers scrambling over Ammunition Hill, is covered with private homes.

The two hills had been heavily fortified to cover the wadi that ran between them so as to prevent an Israeli linkup with the garrison on Mount Scopus by a quick armored thrust. The wadi is today's busy Eshkol Boulevard.

Although the battle for Ammunition Hill was a small-scale affair relative to the war as a whole, it was a crucible of courage in which a small group of fighters facing withering fire pressed forward against an entrenched enemy until the target was taken.

"We see this as the antithesis to Yad Vashem [the Holocaust memorial]," says Shimon Cabaner, director of the site. "We want people who visit Yad Vashem to come here afterwards. This place is a symbol of how a people which went to its slaughter in the Holocaust formed a state and stood the test of battle. There is no example like this in history."

Shortly after the war, the government decided to preserve Ammunition Hill as a memorial rather than turn it into a building site, as was done with the Mivtar.

The same Arab workmen from Yatta in the south Hebron hills who had built the deep trenches for the Jordanians were hired by the Israelis to prepare the site for visitors by making the trench walls more secure.

Now plans are afoot for a major expansion and renovation of the site aimed at

making it meaningful for a new generation.

"Youths going into the army today were born nine years after the Six Day War," says Cabaner. "What was clear to everyone back then is no longer clear, including the division of Jerusalem."

Cabaner, better known by the nickname Katcha, fought in Jerusalem as a paratroop deputy battalion commander and was a member of the legendary 101st commando unit, in the early days of the state.

The \$7 million project includes an expansion of the museum at the heart of the site and a complete renovation of its contents. "It's only with difficulty that a visitor today can get a feel of what happened," says Katcha. "We will make it much more tangible — the waiting period before the war, the political decisions, the military decisions."

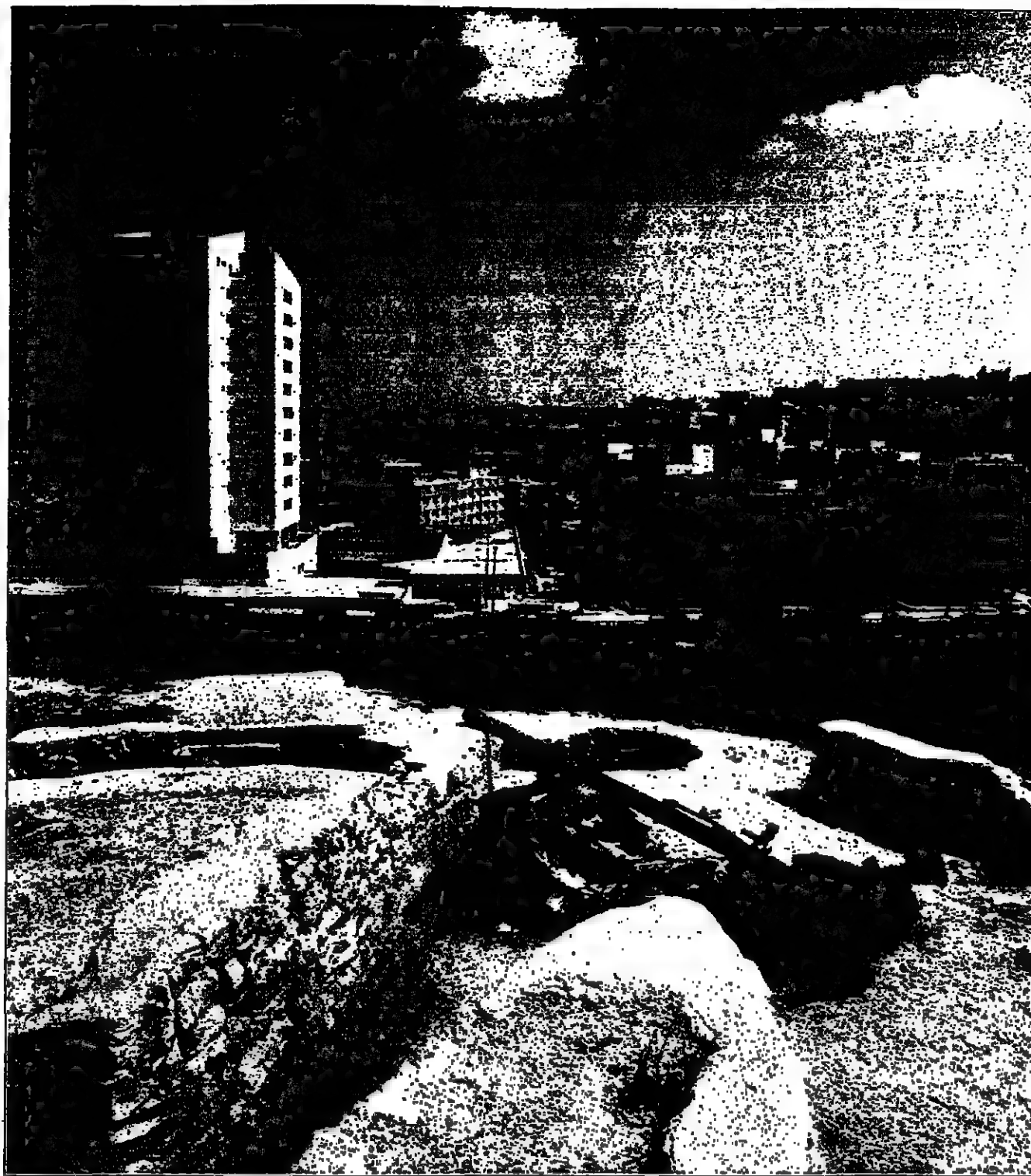
In a major blunder, the builders of the existing museum had destroyed a unique battlefield site — a 2,000-year-old Jewish tomb that had been converted by the Jordanians into their central-command bunker.

It remains to be seen whether the planners of the renovated site will not overwhelm the raw feel of the small battlefield with signs, audio equipment and other paraphernalia.

Of the 150,000 visitors to the site annually, two-thirds are schoolchildren and soldiers on organized tours. Only some 4,000 are foreign tourists. Katcha hopes the renovated site will multiply the number of visitors, including foreigners.

Explanations will be offered in English and other languages through audio devices. Beyond the political-military context, says Katcha, the museum's object will be to transmit the spirit of the period. "We want to portray a generation with its motivation and values."

Access to the renovated site will be through an imposing new gateway at its southern end. A seven-meter-long model of the divided city will show the situation



Skeletal remains of the Ammunition Hill battle overlook one dividend of victory: flourishing Ramat Eshkol. (D. Harris)

that prevailed on the eve of the war.

Just inside the gateway, at the foot of the hill, will be a 500 to 600 seat amphitheater where descriptions of the battle and its background will be offered. After dark, there will be audio-visual presentations.

The project is being organized by two voluntary associations — one consisting of members of the bereaved families of the 179 soldiers and two airmen who fell in the battle for the city, and the other of veterans of the three brigades that fought around Jerusalem (the 5th Para-

troop Brigade, the Jerusalem Brigade and the mechanized Harel Brigade) and of the Air Force. Some of the money will be provided by the Defense Ministry and the remainder will come from contributions.

Two two-story buildings at the foot of the hill, serving as municipal warehouses, will be incorporated into the project after renovation. They will include a cafeteria to accommodate 200 people, lecture halls, a bookstore, offices, and archives.

The actual battlefield will become part of a 200-dunam complex that will extend eastward to the Nabulus-Jerusalem road.

The complex will include a large park, underground parking and a youth hostel. There are also plans, Katcha says, to transfer the National Security College from the Tel Aviv area to the extended Ammunition Hill complex.

The project is to be completed in stages over the next four years during which Jerusalem will be at the focus of several anniversaries — the 3,000th anniversary of the City of David in 1996, the 30th anniversary of the Six Day War in 1997 and the 50th anniversary of the founding of the state in 1998.

Everyone's being taken to the cleaners

EARTHLY CONCERNS
D'VORA BEN SHAUL

AMERICANS have started giving their freshly cleaned clothes dirty looks following reports that traditional dry-cleaning methods are releasing large amounts of a chemical called perchlorethylene (perc) into the air and groundwater.

Since perc has been pinpointed as a cause of some breast and liver cancers, more than 20 states have banned dry-cleaning establishments in the vicinity of human residences and shops, restricting them to industrial zones. But this does not solve the problem of general pollution or protect those who work in such establishments.

The matter has become particularly urgent because of new laws controlling perc emission in several states, with California, New York and Florida leading the way.

Concern led the US Environmental Protection Agency to undertake a study of alternatives to chemical solvents.

The EPA study, just released, found that wet cleaning of delicate fabrics, properly done, is a satisfactory alternative where shrinking, stretching and color change are concerned, and even has certain advantages.

Clients said they preferred the wet-cleaned garments because they felt softer and smelled better.

Costs are also encouraging: A wet-cleaning facility operating on steam and microwaves costs 41 per cent less to set up than a conventional dry-cleaning plant, and slightly less to operate.

BUT IT will take a long time for the US's 34,000 dry cleaners to switch over to wet cleaning. In the meantime, the EPA has concentrated on making recommendations that can serve as the basis for legislation.

Among the recommendations: That all new dry-cleaning facilities use a dry-to-dry machine for dry cleaning. Most of them use two machines for the process, one to clean and a second to dry.

It is during the transfer of solvent-soaked materials that most exposure of workers and others in the vicinity takes place.

This up-grading step will be required of all large dry-cleaning establishments in the US by 1996. Small shops will not be required to change existing equipment.

Until all this is done, the EPA recommends that people buy less clothing requiring dry cleaning and wash all washable items.

The EPA points out that 35 per cent of dry cleaning in the US is done on clothing clearly labeled "hand washable."

Some people don't want to be bothered with the chore, while others mistakenly think dry cleaning will protect more expensive garments.

Young people in Israel in the late '60s and early '70s — before they realized that stone-washed and faded jeans were "in" — would send their jeans to the dry cleaners so they wouldn't fade.

Many garments labeled "dry-clean" can be washed if proper care is taken over water temperature, type of soap and drying. This is particularly true of wool, which is usually softer and pleasanter to wear when properly washed.

Unfortunately, the US is the only country to devote much attention to the problem of perc emissions.

In most of the world, dry-cleaning establishments are located in areas where nearby shops and apartments are exposed to heavy doses of this solvent daily.

In Israel, there are no particular restrictions on perc emissions, and little if any attention has been paid to their hazards.

Detaining a security risk: The weight of secret evidence

LAW REPORT

ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Appeal under section 7 of the Emergency Powers (Detention Law) of 1979, before Justice Gavriel Bach, in the matter of Baruch Ben-Yosef, appellants, versus the Defense Minister, Respondent (A.D.A. 2194).

SECTION 2(a) of the above law provides that "where the Defense Minister has reasonable cause to believe that reasons of state security or public security require that a particular person shall be detained, he may, by order under his hand, direct that such person be detained for a period, not exceeding six months, stated in the order."

Under section 4(a) of the law the person arrested "shall, within 48 hours of his arrest... be brought before the President of the District Court in the area of jurisdiction of which he was arrested, and the President may confirm or set aside the detention order or shorten the period of detention. If the detainee is not brought before the President, or the hearing before him is not begun within 48 hours as aforesaid, the detainee shall be released unless some other ground for detaining him exists under any law."

Under section 4(c) of the law the court president shall set aside the order "if it has been proved to him that the reasons for which it was made were not objective reasons of state security or public security or that it was made in bad faith or from irrelevant considerations."

The minister ordered Ben-Yosef's detention for three months. The detainee was arrested on March 13, 1994, and brought before the president of the Jerusalem District Court on March 15. The president confirmed the order, and Ben-Yosef appealed to the Supreme Court.

IN HIS judgment, Justice Bach dealt first with the procedure at the hearing before the president.

Section 6(c) of the law, he said, empowers the president to "...accept evidence without the detainee or his representative being present and without disclosing the evidence to them... if he is satisfied that disclosure of the evidence to either of them may impair state security or public security..."

Counsel for the state requested the president to exclude from disclosure "the whole contents of the information and its sources" upon which the minister relied.

The president, however, had excluded from disclosure only that portion of the material which, in his opinion, it was vital to conceal. Despite his comment in his decision

that the attitude of the state's representatives had been objective and fair, it was clear, and only natural, that he was troubled by having to conceal part of the evidence from the detainee and his counsel.

Sitting on appeal from the president's decision he shared the same feeling, Justice Bach continued.

There were only two alternatives: On the one hand, the president was to set aside the order if the elements set forth in section 4(c) above were proved; on the other hand, since the detainee was denied access to the main evidence on which the minister acted, he was deprived of the means of proving what was required of him.

He agreed with the president that "this situation, so foreign to the basic principles of natural justice, hovers over the whole proceeding."

He agreed with the president's conclusions in this regard that evidence was to be concealed only rarely and in the most exceptional cases. Moreover, he was to make every effort to examine the evidence with the utmost care to be sure it was reliable and justified administrative detention.

Justice Bach then held that the "proof" of the reasons for setting the order aside under section 4(c) above should not be interpreted too strictly. A detainee was not required to present the proof ordinarily demanded of a litigant for

establishing a particular fact. It was for the president, and thereafter the appeal court, itself to examine the complete evidence with the utmost care both as to its credibility and implications.

Since cross-examination of the witnesses, the most effective method of testing credibility, was unavailable to the detainee, he and his counsel should be afforded the widest possible opportunity of presenting their case.

The president himself should also ask questions of clarification where necessary. He must make every effort to "minimize the damage" caused by the absence of cross-examination, and avoid a miscarriage of justice.

Justice Bach added that he, as the appeal judge, had followed the same course. An appeal under the above law was not like the usual criminal appeal in which the court was reluctant to interfere with the lower court's findings unless there had been a legal or procedural flaw, or a disregard of principles.

The appeal judge was required to examine the whole case afresh. This also followed from the language of section 7(a) of the law which granted the Supreme Court "all the powers of the President of the District Court under this law" — language wider than that in the general description of an appeal court's powers in section 213 of the Criminal Procedure Law (Consolidated Version) of 1982.

Ben-Yosef and his counsel had submitted that the minister's order had been based mainly on Ben-Yosef's opinions and ideology as revealed in the disclosed evidence.

These showed that he had belonged to Kach and the American Jewish Defense League; was, inter alia, chairman of the Movement for the Jewish Right to Autonomy in Judea and Samaria; and belonged to the Movement for Establishing the Sanctuary to strengthen Jewish status and interests on the Temple Mount.

Everyone agreed, said Justice Bach, that a person's political opinions, even if they differed from those of the government, could not be a valid ground for the deprivation of his freedom.

The president had also explained that it was not Ben-Yosef's opinions, extreme as they were, which justified the order. It was the undisclosed documents, to which his disclosed opinions were only the background, which justified the minister's act.

The president had become convinced that the undisclosed documents were genuine and realistic.

He had also held specifically that an understanding person so convinced would conclude that the prevention of the acts which the documents contemplated was imperative in the interests of state security or public security.

The president had also com-

mented on the apparent paradox between Ben-Yosef's undoubtedly genuine devotion to Israel and his readiness to perform terrible acts involving damage to life and property.

However, he added that in view of the bloody event at the Cave of the Patriarchs, the "paradox" became less attractive as a ground in Ben-Yosef's favor, for it showed that even such acts could be contemplated.

Justice Bach then held that the nondisclosed evidence bore the stamp of truth. It was also supported by the disclosed facts in the sense alone that they very largely neutralized one's natural inclination to reject the undisclosed evidence as unreliable.

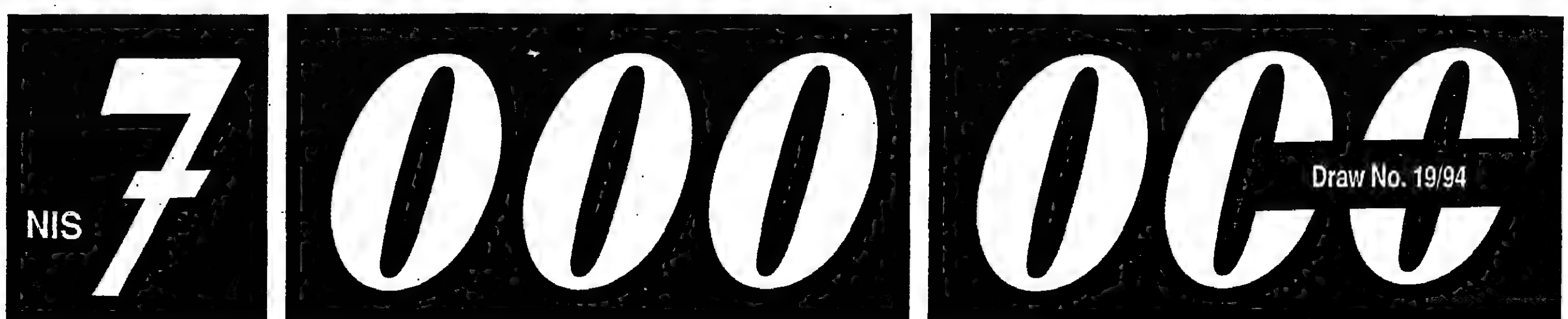
Justice Bach added that Ben-Yosef's counsel had relied on the Basic Law: The Dignity and Freedom of Man, of 1992.

But section 8 of that law permitted an act restricting a person's freedom if sanctioned by a law "devoted to a desirable purpose and not exceeding what was necessary." Moreover, section 10 of the Basic Law specifically excluded the invalidation of prior statutes.

For the above reasons the appeal was dismissed. Shmuel David Casper appeared for Ben-Yosef, and Shai Nitzan, the senior assistant state attorney, appeared for the state.

The judgment was given on March 31, 1994.

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RADIO

1

Ramon, Labor publicize budgets

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

THE Ramon-Meretz list yesterday revealed in Tel Aviv District Court details of its election budget and the agreement it signed with Shas.

The revelations were in response to an appeal to the court by the Likud-Histadrut list, asking it to order Ramon to publish the agreements his group made with the haredi party, as well as with the Citizens Rights Movement, Mapam and Shinui.

The agreement, which was hurriedly signed over the weekend, indicates that the list's election budget is NIS 15 million.

According to the agreement signed among the Ramon group, Mapam, the CRM, Shinui and

Shas over the weekend, the faction in the Histadrut will be run by a "senior forum" consisting of Mapam Chairman Hanan Erez, CRM's Ran Cohen, Shinui's Avraham Poraz, Haim Ramon and Shas's Arye Deri.

The distribution of representatives in Histadrut institutions and budget allocations will be made according to the election results. If the list gets 40 to 43% of the votes, Meretz will get 17%, Ramon will get 17% and Shas will get 9%.

Under to the agreement, Meretz's member parties are responsible for contributing funds to the election campaign, from party fi-

nancing allocations and from the Histadrut's political tax.

Following Ramon's revelation of its agreement, Labor decided to publish its own election budget, which, according to campaign staff chiefs, reaches some NIS 25 million.

The party had originally planned to spend only NIS 16 million on the elections. However, this sum was "updated" in mid-April, following Ramon's creation of his own list. The budget came from the Histadrut's monthly political budget, which is given to all Histadrut factions according to their relative size.

The head of the Joint Jewish-Arab List, Binyamin Gonen, calculated that the real expenses of all the parties contending in the Histadrut elections will reach some NIS 100 million.

He said yesterday that this fabulous sum is spent by the parties almost entirely on outdoor posters, "which are thrown to the garbage the day after the elections."

"What are all these posters for? Until the elections the leaders of these parties [their portraits on outdoor posters] talk to us from the wall. The day after they are elected, we [the people] will be talking to the wall," Gonen said.

The JL's election budget is NIS 700,000, Gonen said.

Communists claim to hold balance in Histadrut election

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

THE head of the Joint Jewish-Arab List for the Histadrut elections, Binyamin Gonen, said yesterday his list would determine who the next secretary-general of the Histadrut will be, it holds the balance of power in forming a coalition.

Gonen told reporters that for the first time his Communist list is being courted by both Labor candidate Haim Haberfeld and MK Haim Ramon, head of the Ramon-Meretz list.

"But we will form a coalition only with those who agree to our terms, including reforms in the trade union section, in enforcing the minimum wage law, stopping the discrimination against Arabs and women, and returning to the socialist ideals of the red banner," he stated. Gonen stressed that under no circumstances would his list form a coalition with the Likud, or any group including the Likud.

Gonen accused the various parties of corruption and said it is hard to choose to be "a bridge between Labor's rotting Histadrut apparatus and Ramon's fraud and cheating." The JL has asked the Histadrut comptroller to investigate where the various lists are getting their funds, which already amount to some NIS 100 million. He claimed Likud candidate

MK Ya'akov Shamai had taken all the Histadrut monthly allocations meant for workers' struggles "and put it in the bank for the past four years, where they accumulated interest and profits. He saved some NIS 20m., but has already spent NIS 40m."

Gonen said another mystery to be probed is "where are all Ramon's millions coming from? They say they only spent NIS 2m. on outdoor posters, but they've spent more than NIS 10m. on that already. If it's from loans, they will have to pay it back. From where? Ramon says, from the political tax allocated by the Histadrut. But he was the one who came out against these allocations, he called them political corruption. Now he is planning how to spend it. If that isn't hypocrisy, what is?"

Gonen called Ramon's list a motley, incongruous mixture which will not be able to make one move together. "Ramon promised the CRM, Mapam, Shinui, and Shas that he would accept their respective platforms. But Mapam doesn't accept Ramon's positions concerning wages and workers terms. Ramon believes in the free market forces and economic Darwinism, where the strong eats up the weak."

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IPO to play works by Richard Strauss

HELEN KAYE

THE first Israel Philharmonic performance of a work by Richard Strauss, the orchestra's first visit to China, a historic visit to India and two concerts by soprano Jessye Norman are among the highlights of the IPO's 1994/95 season revealed at a press conference yesterday.

IPO music director Zubin Mehta will conduct Strauss's *The Life of a Hero*, the first time that the IPO has played a work by the formerly proscribed German composer, known to have been a Nazi.

The Strauss is the second concert of the season, which begins with the IPO debut of Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana* sung by the Prague Philharmonic choir and conducted by Mehta, who returns to lead the orchestra after a year's sabbatical.

The visits to India and China are part of a tour which will also take the orchestra to Japan this November. The China visit is at government request, said IPO general secretary Avi Shoshani. "and the visit to India will include three concerts in Bombay, which is Maestro Mehta's hometown."

World-renowned singer Jessye Norman will give two concerts at the end of October. While here, she will also make a record, and a TV documentary is also planned.

The IPO budget is NIS 41.5 million, of which 60% is earned income. "Currently national and local government subsidies account for a mere 9% of our operating budget," said general manager Avigdor Levin, "and we are demanding at least parity with other arts institutions whose slice of the subsidy is around 30%."

The orchestra currently has a NIS 2 million operating deficit, with an accumulated deficit of some NIS 10 million.

Suspect indicted in murder over parking space

RAINE MARCUS

THE Netanya artist who allegedly shot dead Raymond Nevet because the latter took his parking space was indicted in Tel Aviv District Court yesterday.

Mendi Sendolovitch, 62, was charged with murdering Nevet, 40, a Dimona resident on his way to a family engagement party, by shooting him in the chest.

Nebet had parked his car in Sendolovitch's space in the parking lot, and an argument broke out between the two, during which blows were exchanged.

According to the charge sheet, Sendolovitch then pulled out a pistol, threatened Nevet, then shot him once from close range.

Nebet died on the way to the hospital. Judge Arye Even-Ari ordered Sendolovitch to undergo psychiatric examinations next Sunday and remanded him until then.

A weakened Likud may be Histadrut partner for either Haim

ANALYSIS
SARAH HONIG

AN INTERNAL Labor Party poll, taken at the tail end of the Histadrut campaign, predicts a tie between maverick MK Haim Ramon and Labor's own Haim Haberfeld. This is bad news for Labor, bad enough to induce panic.

But the worst news, according to the poll, is that over 40 percent of those interviewed said they had not made up their minds. This figure is regarded as ominous, because it is acknowledged in Labor that many Histadrut members may have refused to answer for fear of a Labor reprisal. Such is the atmosphere of intimidation in the Histadrut - even today - that many do not trust guarantees of anonymity. Hence the assumption is that among the professed floating voters there are many more who lean towards Ramon than towards Haberfeld.

All non-party polls have consistently been predicting a Ramon victory, and nearly all put Ramon over the 40 percent mark, which would virtually assure him of becoming the next secretary-general - with Likud help.

But a word of caution is due: the polls have been wrong before, as the Histadrut arena has its own rules and no pollster can honestly presume to be confident in his predictions.

In the January Labor primary for the Histadrut secretary-general nomination, the pollsters were very far off the mark. The party machine set its steamroller in motion: shop floor pressures were exerted and vested interests from upper echelon Histadrut manage-

ment and workers council ranks were forcefully projected down to those who owe them favors, or depend on them or fear them. This chain reaction, which can conceivably reach the lowest employee, cannot be taken into account by any poll and it can be very potent.

But the very fact that no one can be sure of anything in this campaign makes it unique in the Histadrut's 73-year history. Never before has there been a campaign as gripping as the one which closes today. In past years the results of Histadrut elections were a foregone conclusion - another Labor victory by varying proportions. The public was apathetic and the races produced prodigious yawns.

This time Ramon threw such a wild card into the ponderous proceedings that the entire nation - including non-Histadrut members - is engrossed and enthralled.

The reason is that for the first time ever there is a possibility that Labor might lose its formidable fortress. Without the economic clout of the Histadrut, Labor would have to wage the next general election campaign with totally different odds. Tomorrow will be a fateful day for Labor and a loss for it would be no less of an earthquake than its Knesset defeat was in 1977.

Even if the vote did not bring the end of the era of Labor hegemony on the Histadrut, this campaign has already ended the era of Labor complacency in the Histadrut. Labor will never again be as snug or take things as much for granted, it is agreed in the party.

Of course, even if Ramon does deal Haberfeld and Labor the ultimate humiliating blow, there is no certainty that Labor will suffer more than a loss of face. It might not actually remain the loser. A victorious Ramon might yet be welcomed back into Labor's open arms. Stranger reconciliations have occurred. A win might make Ramon acceptable again. This is privately admitted by many in Labor as well as around Ramon. Hence the charge that Labor is in fact fielding two tickets.

The Haim vs. Haim campaign may cost the Likud dearly, but may also offer it unprecedented opportunities. For the first time since the Likud entered Histadrut politics, it might actually decline in strength. It is now unlikely that the Likud can even hold on to its present 27 percent, because most of its supporters are not Histadrut members and those protest voters who once opted for the Likud may now switch to Ramon. However, the weakened Likud may prove the most attractive coalition partner to either Haim if neither manages an absolute majority, thus putting the Likud for the first time in the Histadrut executive.



Three Red Army veterans now living in Israel reminisce yesterday at a ceremony marking the 49th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany, held at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. (Isaac Harari)

Singapore wants to boost economic ties with Israel

DAVID MAKOVSKY

SINGAPORE Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew pledged to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday to upgrade the economic links between the two countries, Israeli participants in their meeting said yesterday.

Other Israeli officials, however, are adopting a wait-and-see attitude, since the volume of trade between the two countries lags behind Jerusalem's economic ties with three other southeast Asian countries - Hong Kong, Thailand,

and the Philippines. Last year, Israel exported \$107.6 million worth of goods to Singapore, which included military equipment, high-tech products, and fertilizers. Israel imported \$84.6 million worth.

Lee, who noted that his country is considering aiding the nascent Palestinian Authority, also urged Rabin to establish joint Israeli-Palestinian business ventures in southeast Asia, saying such efforts

would be welcomed. As the Middle East peace process progresses, Malaysia, a strident critic of Israel, will also establish links with Israel, Lee predicted.

Rabin was joined at the meeting by top officials from the Defense, Finance, Education, and Foreign ministries. Israel has long-standing military links with Singapore. Despite criticism of some Singapore's authoritarian methods, Ra-

bin admires Lee for his great economic success as prime minister, a Rabin aide said. The prime minister invited Singapore to join multilateral efforts for Middle East regional cooperation.

Lee's five day trip marks the second time he has visited Israel. The first time he came was in the early 1960s in an unofficial capacity. Israeli officials say, but has refrained from making subsequent trips in order not to anger Singapore's Moslem neighbors.

Supreme Court awards record \$4m. damages

EVELYN GORDON

THE Supreme Court yesterday nearly halved the damages fixed by attorney-general Michael Ben-Yair, then a District Court judge, in a civil suit, but the sum - over \$4 million - remains the highest ever awarded by an Israeli court, according to one of the lawyers involved in the case.

The suit was filed by the parents of a 17-year-old American, John Cohen, who was severely injured in a fall while touring here in 1981.

During a hike in the Golan Heights, the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (SPNI) tour guide took Cohen's group on a path explicitly marked forbidden. Cohen slipped from the path and fell into a canyon. He suffered severe brain damage, is almost completely paralyzed and is unable to speak.

Cohen's family sued the SPNI and the state for negligence. In 1987, then Haifa District Court judge Michael Ben-Yair found both parties guilty, and set damages at \$6,863,585.42, plus interest. Both the state and the SPNI appealed the decision.

Justices Aharon Barak, Shlomo Levin and Eliezer Goldberg accepted the state's argument that it was not guilty of negligence, since the army, which was in control of the Golan at the time, tried to keep people off the path both by posting a "forbidden to enter" sign at the entrance to the path and by explicitly warning the SPNI that the path was dangerous.

From the tour guide's testimony, Levin wrote, it was clear that the society believed the warning didn't apply to experienced guides such as theirs - despite the fact that the tour group was inexperienced - and the army could not be held responsible for this.

The justices accepted part of the SPNI's appeal regarding the damages, reducing them to \$4,134,037.77. However, the SPNI will now have to pay the entire sum, instead of splitting the costs with

the government. Compensation for pain and suffering was reduced from \$250,000 to \$60,000, which, the court said, was more in line with Israeli standards. Ben-Yair had chosen the original sum on the grounds that since the injured party was American, American standards should be used.

The court also reduced the sum awarded Cohen for loss of future income, from \$948,387 to \$441,478. Ben-Yair had based his figure on the fact that Cohen was planning to study law, and could be a partner in a law firm within 15 years. However, the justices said there was no way to support such a prediction for any 17-year-old.

Thirdly, the court reduced the sum earmarked for maintaining Cohen for the rest of his life in a medical institution, from nearly \$5m. to around \$3m. No legally acceptable evidence, the justices ruled, was presented to support the parents' claims regarding the costs they expected to incur.

Finally, the court reduced several other elements in the total, finding insufficient evidence to support the sums Ben-Yair had assigned.

There were several other issues on which the justices criticized Ben-Yair for allowing inadmissible evidence, not permitting the defendants to introduce expert testimony, and not giving the defendants enough time to examine relevant documents.

Liat Collins adds: SPNI spokeswoman Orit Nevo said the society would honor the court's decision and pay the full amount.

"It was a tragic, but extremely rare, incident that happened 13 years ago. Safety procedures are extremely stringent and SPNI guides undergo constant tests and exercises on the subject," Nevo said.

Robbery suspect now also facing murder charge

RAINE MARCUS

A MAN originally charged with participating in a series of robberies of elderly people in the Tel Aviv area is now suspected of murdering a 70-year-old money changer in her Rishon LeZion apartment.

Doron Peretz, 22, of Kiryat Malachi was caught red-handed with three other men as they bound, gagged and beat an old man in an attempt to discover where he hid his savings. The four were caught after a violent struggle with police who had followed them to the apartment.

Following a tip from a barber, police detained three men who appeared in court last week on suspicion of strangling Pessia Hessed during a robbery last February.

One of them, David Cohen, apparently implicated Peretz in the woman's murder but Peretz denies the allegations.

Police, asking to have Peretz remanded for eight days, said that they could not yet indict Peretz "since a charge sheet, exposing all evidence, may disrupt the investigation."

'Bezek technicians find 300 illegal bugs each month'

RAINE MARCUS

BEZEK technicians randomly discover some 300 illegal phone taps each month throughout the country, a senior police officer revealed to *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

Technicians are instructed, during their day's work, to check for bugs hidden in Bezek junction boxes, said the officer.

"On average, 60 to 70 taps are found monthly in each district," said the officer. "Around 150 to 200 transmitters are found in the central area and are placed by private investigators."

But Bezek spokesman Zecharia Mizrotsky denied such statistics. "These numbers are nonsense. Countrywide, fewer than 10 are found monthly," he said.

Technicians discovering illegal bugs have to report their findings to Bezek's security officers, said Mizrotsky.

According to both private investigators and the police officer, Bezek technicians are often on the payrolls of private investigators.

Mizrotsky said Bezek has not received any complaints that technicians are moonlighting by installing illegal bugs on private or company phones. If technicians are found doing so, they are reported to police, he said.

"Of course there are no complaints," said the police officer. "Who would file a complaint? The private investigator who hired him?"

Bezek will only check for wiretapping if the police request it. "If someone suspects his phone is tapped, he should first file a complaint with police, who may ask us to check," said Mizrotsky.

Ma'ariv yesterday asked the Tel Aviv Magistrates Court to lift a ban on the list of hundreds of subjects of illegal wire tapping allegedly carried out by private investigators Rafi Friedan and Ya'acov Tsur. *Yediot Aharonot* filed the same request last week.

A hearing to decide whether Tsur and Friedan, charged with illegally tapping the phones of senior *Yediot* and *Ma'ariv* employees, will stay out on bail or will be remanded until trial has been set for Thursday.

The hearing was delayed because defense lawyers did not receive evidence from the prosecution, which was only willing to hand over part of the written and taped evidence.

Yesterday Judge Zecharia Caspi ruled the lawyers would receive only a "relevant" portion of the audio cassettes, chosen and recorded by the prosecution, and with full agreement of those whose conversations were recorded.

Regarding tapes on which the subjects were unidentifiable, Caspi determined that defense lawyers would receive short excerpts to enable them to prepare their case, while preserving the privacy of those talking.

Winning cards

In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the nine of spades, queen of hearts, queen of diamonds and eight of clubs.

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